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REV. ELIEZER WILLIAMS, M.A.

VICAR OF LAMPETER, AND CAIO CUM LLANSAWEL,
PREBENDARY OF ST. DAVIDS, ETC.

WITH

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

BY HIS SON,

ST. GEORGE ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS, M.A.

PERPETUAL CURATE OF BETTWS GARMON, CARNARVONSHIRE,
AND CHAPLAIN OF THE COUNTY GAOL.

Ἄλλ' ἴσχε κάμου μνηστίν.—SOPH. AJAX.

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TO HIS SCHOOL-FELLOWS,

This Volume,

WHICH MUST AWAKEN IN THEIR MINDS, AS IT AWAKENS IN HIS,

A THOUSAND TENDER

AND INTERESTING REMEMBRANCES, IS MOST

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY THE EDITOR.

Fron, near Caernarvon,

May 28, 1840.

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MEMOIR
OF THE
REV. ELIEZER WILLIAMS, M.A.
VICAR OF LAMPETER.

BY HIS SON, THE
REV. ST. GEORGE ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS, M.A.

"We loved, but not enough, the gentle hand
That rear'd us." COWPER.

MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. ELIEZER WILLIAMS, M. A.

IT has been remarked that the life of a scholar seldom abounds with adventure. He withdraws himself from the din and bustle of the world, and spends his days for the most part in solitude and silence. The cursory observer who views him only from a distance, who has no means of being acquainted with him in his daily walks, or in the bosom of his family, can see little that makes him an object of interest, or that distinguishes him from the rest of mankind. In all cases, however, it is pleasing to think and to speak of individuals from whom we have derived solid instruction or rational amusement, and it is beyond measure delightful not only to dwell upon the talents and attainments, but to record, as far as we may be able, the virtues of those to whom we owe obligations, which are never to be forgotten, and never to be repaid. It is under the influence of this feeling that the present writer sits down to his unambitious task ; and happy indeed would he esteem himself, more happy than language can describe, if

he were qualified to fulfil it as he could wish. Then it would be a privilege and a joy indeed to make the excellences of a beloved parent, formed as he was to bless and to be blessed, more generally known, and

“ to retrace

(As in a map, the voyager his course)

The windings of his way through many years.”

The subject of this brief Memoir, Eliezer Williams, son of the Rev. Peter Williams, was born at Llandiveilog, in the county of Carmarthen, in the autumn of 1754. His father, who was descended from a respectable and pious family residing at Laugharne, in the parish of Llansadwrnen, also in Carmarthenshire, married the only daughter of Mr. Morgan Morgans, a gentleman of small landed property at Capel Llanlleian, in the same county. This union was singularly blessed. They had six children—three sons and three daughters—of whom Eliezer was the eldest. Theirs was indeed a well regulated household, the abode of order, of kindness, of peace, and of humble unpretending piety. As with them religion was not merely an assent of the understanding, but a deep and solemn persuasion of the heart, so it was their unceasing solicitude to instil the best principles into the minds of their children, and to lay betimes the surest foundation for their respectability, usefulness, and comfort in future life.

Having been instructed at home in the rudiments of learning, my father was placed, when he was about nine years old, under the care of the Rev. John Wil-

liams, then curate of St. Ismael's, and by that gentleman was well grounded in the Latin and Greek languages. After remaining with Mr. Williams two or three years, he was removed to the free grammar school of Carmarthen, then under the able superintendence of the Rev. William Higgs Barker, M.A. vicar of Carmarthen. In this seminary, which was deservedly in high reputation, he made considerable progress; while by the quickness of his talents, the diligence with which he applied himself to his studies, and the suavity of his temper, he soon conciliated the attachment of his kind instructor, and became a general favourite with his schoolfellows. But though he was earnest and regular in preparing his lessons, there was no absence of the fondness for juvenile recreations, which is so congenial with the buoyancy and cheerfulness of youth. Hence he acquired that more than ordinary degree of bodily vigour, and of intellectual elasticity, for which he was so conspicuous in after years.

During the time that he was at school, a circumstance occurred, in which, even then, the characteristics of his mind were strikingly displayed. One night, just as the church clock struck twelve, as he was busy at his books, he was interrupted by an unusual noise in the house. Before he could speculate on the cause of the disturbance, the door of his room suddenly opened, and in stalked a tall figure wrapped in a sheet, and having its features concealed in a hideous mask, while it uttered undis-

tinguishable and frightful sounds, that might seem to be those of a voice not of this world. Eliezer was in the first instance astounded at the appearance of the intruder, but after a moment's reflection he sprang from his seat, and raising himself into an erect posture, and grasping a missile that lay upon the table, levelled it at the apparition with so sure an aim, as to bring it to the ground, and at once to prove that it was no unearthly being. When, on relating the adventure, my father was asked why he felt no alarm, he said, that he had just been reading the account in Homer of Dolon's excursion to the Grecian camp, and the cowardice of that despicable spy had produced such an effect on his nerves as to make him proof against every kind of intimidation.

My father excelled the majority of his school-fellows in their most popular pastimes. He was rather under the common stature, but his frame was so remarkably muscular and robust, that he took the lead in all manner of sports. He was an adept at football, at fives, and at throwing the bar ; in the art of swimming he is said to have become such a proficient as to have been able to float down the river Towy for several miles without landing. To this valuable accomplishment, for such it unquestionably is, he was indebted for having been the means, under Providence, of rescuing two of his fellow creatures from a watery grave : one a schoolfellow, who, while bathing, was seized with the cramp ; the other

a poor industrious fisherman, who had fallen out of a coracle, and whom, with astonishing alertness, he dragged to the shore.

Shooting was also among his favourite diversions. On one occasion, while he was in pursuit of game, his gun burst, and he was so much injured as to be in danger for some weeks of losing his eyesight. Of this accident his face bore evident memorials to the day of his death; and there can be little doubt that it had its influence in leading him to abandon altogether the sports of the field. It is quite evident that he could not have had much leisure for such pursuits, for about the year 1770, while he was yet at school, he assisted his excellent father in preparing for publication his *Annotations on the Welsh Bible*, and his *Welsh Concordance*. It may be observed that, if we except a similar work of an inferior kind printed at Philadelphia, this was the first Concordance in the ancient British language that ever issued from the press. Both the *Annotations* and the *Concordance* have since passed through several editions, and they are still held in high estimation.

About the years 1771 and 1772, the Rev. Evan Evans, an eminent Welsh scholar and Welsh bard, the author of "*Specimens of Ancient Welsh Poetry*," and of many other publications, was in the habit of frequently visiting Gelly, the residence of my grandfather, and with him our young student formed an intimate acquaintance. In investigating the structure of his native tongue, and in learning to feel and

to estimate its beauties, he was materially assisted by Mr. Evans's extensive and familiar knowledge of Welsh literature, as well as by his taste and elegance of mind.

It was at this period also that my grandfather co-operated in the publication of a Welsh Miscellany, entitled "*Eurgrawn Cymraeg*:" the first periodical work that ever appeared in Welsh. The Rev. Peter Williams, and Mr. Evan Thomas, a Montgomeryshire poet, then resident at Carmarthen, were the joint editors. This magazine contained, in conformity with its prospectus, 1. *Brut y Tywysogion*, or a History of the Welsh Princes: 2. A Dissertation on Miscellaneous Subjects: 3. Poetry: 4. Intelligence, foreign and domestic. The poetical department was supplied by "*Ieuan Brydydd Hir*," the Bardic appellation of the Rev. E. Evans,—Hugh Hughes and Robert Hughes of Anglesey,—John Thomas, the father of Mr. Evan Thomas, the editor,—Mr. Edward Williams, alias *Iolo Morganwg*,—and many others of considerable note. Even in the days of his boyhood, the subject of this Memoir had wooed the inspiration of the Muses, and here some of his first poetical effusions found a place.

Having completed his classical studies under Mr. Barker, he went to Oxford, and was admitted commoner of Jesus' College in the year 1773. As he distinguished himself by his progress in literature, and by his manly independence of mind, he was an object of universal respect; and in these hallowed

seats he laid the foundation of friendships which he was accustomed to number among the choicest blessings of his life. It is well remembered by the few survivors who were members of the college, that at the public examinations he proved himself to be a man of genius, and a scholar; but as this was before the institution, in that university, of "*doctarum præmia frontium*," his name does not appear in the list of those "*qui honore digni sunt habiti*," in the Oxford Calendar. After the completion of his academical course he returned to his father's house, where he employed himself in a close attention to literary and scientific pursuits until the wished-for period arrived when he was to enter upon the more public duties of a Christian minister.

He obtained a title to orders from the Rev. Mr. Pritchard, vicar of Trelech: and on Sunday, 3rd August, 1777, he was ordained deacon in the chapel of St. John Baptist, Abergwilly, by the Hon. James Yorke, D.D., bishop of St. David's.* An incident that occurred during his residence at Trelech may be worth recording. As Mr. Pritchard and he were travelling from Carmarthen to Llansawel, the darkness of the night stole upon them unawares; the road was precipitous, intricate, and secluded. They lost their way, and were unable either to proceed or to

* Dr. Yorke was rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and dean of Lincoln. He became bishop of St. David's in 1744, and was translated to Gloucester in 1779, to Ely in 1781. He died at Forthampton in Gloucestershire, in 1808, in his 78th year.

return. Mr. Pritchard, being naturally timid, at once regarded their condition as beyond hope: he became bewildered, and gave himself up to the sadness of despair. My father, perceiving his distress, did all he could to calm his apprehensions and revive his drooping spirits. "Come, come, my dear Sir," said he, "there is One above who, if we put our trust in him, will neither leave us nor forsake us in our extremity; those black clouds are beginning rapidly to disperse: I can now ascertain the points of the compass, and by the assistance of the stars, like the navigators of old, I can steer our course."* The result proved both the accuracy of my father's astronomical knowledge, and its unspeakable value. In after life, Mr. Pritchard was fond of adverting to his perilous situation, and of stating how much he was indebted to the self-possession and to the scientific attainments of his companion.

Having for a few months served the curacy of Trelech, much to the satisfaction of his flock, my father removed, by the advice of Dr. Hoar, principal of Jesus' College, to a similar situation at Tetsworth in Oxfordshire: and on Sunday, 20th December, 1778, he was admitted to priest's orders in Christ Church cathedral, by Dr. Edward Smallwell, bishop of Oxford. A short time after, he was chosen second

* At that time the district for many miles round was almost an uninhabited wilderness: it has since been in great measure enclosed.

master of the grammar school at Wallingford, in Berkshire ; and in addition to that office, he undertook the cure of Acton, a village in the neighbourhood. While at Wallingford, it was his happiness to be introduced to Dr. Shute Barrington, at that time bishop of Llandaff, and ultimately bishop of Durham. This excellent prelate occasionally resided in Berkshire, where he had frequent opportunities of estimating my father's powers of mind, and of observing his love of literature ; and through life my father esteemed it a high privilege to have been honoured with the notice of one so deservedly eminent as a scholar and a Christian. When his lordship was translated to the see of Salisbury, he would willingly have taken his young friend with him in the capacity of chaplain ; but my father, having then other objects in view, respectfully declined the proposal. The patronage of this estimable man would in all probability have opened a way to advancement in the church ; and my father was often heard to express his sorrow that he did not avail himself of it.

It was about this time that hostilities commenced between Great Britain and France. Like many other young men of lively imagination and enterprising spirit, my father was ambitious of seeing a little of the world ; and an appointment much to his taste, that of chaplain on board a man-of-war, having been tendered to him, he accepted of it with alacrity.

In the summer of 1780 he entered both on the

duties of chaplain in his majesty's ship *Cambridge*, then under the command of Admiral Keith Stewart, and on those of tutor to Lord Garlies, afterwards the Earl of Galloway, who was nephew of the admiral, and midshipman in the same ship.

In July 1781 he sailed to the North Sea with the squadron which was sent out for the purpose of protecting British commerce from piracies, and of demanding satisfaction of the Dutch for the insidious aid which they had rendered to the combined fleets of France, Spain, and America.

At the beginning of 1782 he was off the Texel with the fleet of Lord Howe and Admiral Barrington, brother to his excellent friend Dr. Shute Barrington. In June this fleet arrived in the Downs, and in the course of the autumn it was dispatched again with a reinforcement to the relief of Gibraltar. The combined assailants, under orders from their respective courts, had taken their position in the Straits, that they might prevent any succour from being given to General Elliot and his heroic band, who possessed no means of defence against the reiterated attacks of the enemy, and were in danger of falling a sacrifice to famine. These and similar expeditions were sources of much gratification to my father. They furnished the materials of many an instructive and affecting tale, with which he was wont to enliven the winter hearth. How often has the writer of this imperfect Memoir hung with breathless wonder on his recital of romantic and heart-rending anecdotes

connected with engagements in which the Cambridge took a part; how often have the members of my father's family wept as they have heard him expatiate with a tenderness of feeling all his own, on the melancholy loss of the Royal George, which he saw go down at Spithead on the 29th August, 1782. This fine ship, carrying a hundred guns, and having eight hundred men on board, while laid on her side in order to have the water-pipes of the powder room repaired, was upset by a sudden squall. She filled and sunk beneath the waves in the space of a single minute, so that only her topmast appeared at the water edge. Upwards of five hundred gallant seamen, and "brave Kempenfelt," with several of his officers, were lost. To the honour of British humanity, a subscription to the amount of six or seven thousand pounds was raised for the widows and children of the sufferers.

My father was also present at the occurrence of many other important events, which now find a place in the records of our beloved country; but it is matter of regret that his Journal, in which they were minutely detailed, has been lost.

After being two or three years at sea, my father, at the request of Lord Galloway, relinquished his chaplaincy, and became tutor in his lordship's family at Galloway House. He was afterwards, through the interest of Lord Galloway, presented, by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, to the small vicarage of Caio cum Llansawel, in the county of Caermarthen; and

to this living he was instituted by Dr. Edward Smallwood, bishop of St. David's, on the 14th September, 1784.

A letter written about this time to one of his younger brothers will be read with interest :—

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ YOUR situation at P— (a name which scarcely deserves a capital letter) cannot certainly be very agreeable. I am exceedingly desirous, but not capable at present, of bettering your pasture : I have done what I could, but have been unsuccessful. You will, I hope, continue to feed your mind in the best manner you are able for another year, when I will, with the blessing of God, renew and redouble my efforts in your favour.

“ Get whatever books you may require from Mr. Ross, and bid him forward the account to me. I would recommend to your perusal some rational and well written History of England, say Goldsmith's or Hume's, but beware of the venom lurking in the pages of the latter ; also some plain and methodical digest of the laws and constitution of England, such as that of Blackstone or De Lolme, which I think you will find palatable and deserving of your particular attention. While you peruse such authors as these, it will be your duty to devote a considerable portion of the day to the classics ; and above all, you should attend to Latin versification, till you can be said to be a correct and elegant scholar. These things may

be done nearly as well at home as at the university ; indeed, I had entertained hopes of receiving a letter from you dated at the latter place : the failure I am confident was not occasioned by any fault of mine.* However, I give you credit for your perseverance ; you will find it always better to condemn difficulties, and, despite of obstacles, to aim at one point, that of meriting the appellation of ‘ *Vir propositi tenax*.’ Time spent in the country is no longer lost time, while it is well employed. You must have had considerable experience before you can expect to take a leading part in the profession which you have chosen,† and you have time before you to obtain your degrees ere your age is too far advanced.

“ The Scotch in general, I must tell you, afford salutary lessons of industry, economy, and perseverance. Surrounded with difficulties and depressed by poverty, they continue to dispute the palm of learning and ingenuity with the most favoured nations of Europe. Every man aims at being something of a scholar, and every cottage betrays some marks of the industry of its inhabitants. I should wish to see some of their virtues copied in our own country. In front of most of their cottages may be seen, in the season, considerable quantities of cloth spread out to bleach, and in most of their little towns

* My father devoted the proceeds of his curacy at Caio to the education of his brother at Oxford.

† His brother was intended for the Bar.

there are manufactories of some kind or other. At Wigtown they have a carpet manufactory, and carry on no inconsiderable business in stocking-weaving : in short, every where in the course of my rides I observe astonishing proofs of diligence and industry amid the most dreary and barren hills, more barren perhaps than the hills of Cardiganshire, but boasting more spirited, if not richer inhabitants, than many a more favoured soil. The same resolution and determined energy which impels them in other things, served perhaps in some measure to carry them almost to an extreme at the Reformation. So great is their dislike to everything Romanish or antiquated, that they never kneel, and seldom use any respectful posture at prayer. The same severity appears in their form of worship, and in the celebration of their religious ceremonies. The service at the Kirk, which is their established church, is similar in all respects to that of the most rigid of the old Presbyterians. They have no pews, no elegant seats, the walls of the house of prayer are seldom plastered, the roof is covered with no ceiling, and the worshippers are called together by the sound of one feeble toned bell only. I am rather surprised that their prejudices should suffer them to use that. The marriage ceremony, if so it can be called, is always performed in private houses, and occasionally by a lay elder. At their funerals they have no reading or preaching, but a number of the deceased's friends assemble together, eat and drink at the house, carry the corpse to the

grave, and disperse. This is all they have substituted for a ceremony which is very justly regarded as the most solemn and instructive in the Church of England.

“ The people in general are not opulent, but they have a numerous host of lords and esquires, some of whom possess extensive estates, and are even what the world calls rich. Their neat country seats, in the midst of barren heaths, exhibit a beautiful contrast to the country around, and form a prospect by no means unpleasant at this season of the year. The weather is now delightful, and be assured I am not backward in taking advantage of it; riding, walking and swimming are my usual exercises. Had I a house here of my own, I would press you to visit me; but what can a poor dependant do?

“ Believe me however, my dear brother, ever yours affectionately,

“ E. WILLIAMS.

“ Galloway House, June 22, 1785.”

With the exception of the eldest son, Lord Garlies, who was in the navy, as has been already noticed, the whole of the young family, both sons and daughters, amounting to five or six in number, were for some time under my father's superintendence; and he instructed them (how assiduously and with what ability it is unnecessary to say) in the different branches of ancient and modern literature, according to their several ages and destinations. Though all looked up to him with respect and attachment, it is

natural to suppose that among so many he had his favourites; at least he could not but feel a peculiar interest in such as were not less remarkable for their talents, application and docility, than for their amiable dispositions. He was often heard, for instance, to speak of the Honourable Charles James Stewart as a young man of the richest promise, likely to rise at some future period to eminence and distinction. His anticipations have been amply realized; although it was not the will of Providence that he should live to congratulate the object of his care and of his regard, on being placed in the exalted station which he now fills with so much credit to himself, and with such signal advantage to his fellow creatures.*

* Since this was written, Dr. Stewart has paid the last debt of nature. The "Montreal Gazette" for Sept. 1837 thus announces the event:

"This most excellent man and venerable prelate died on the 19th July last, at the house of his lordship's nephew, the Earl of Galloway, in the sixty-third year of his age. The amiable qualities, Christian virtues, and apostolic life of this truly good shepherd of the Church of England, in these provinces, are so well known to the humblest worshipper in that church, that it is quite unnecessary for us, if we were adequate to the task, to dwell upon the numerous excellences of this faithful and zealous servant of Christ. But we cannot conclude this brief record of the lamented death of the late lord bishop of the diocese, without bearing testimony, though members of another church, to the high esteem in which his lordship was held by every class and persuasion, throughout both provinces. The church of which he was a prelate, never embraced a more pious and charitable disciple, and never lost a more ardent and devoted friend and supporter."

In the opening mind of the Honourable William Stewart, he also felt assured there was the germ of no ordinary excellence; and it was with a mixture of pride and of delight that he saw how honourably he acquitted himself as a scholar and as a gentleman, on the great theatre of the world; and how deservedly he obtained, from judges of unquestionable discernment, the high encomium of being one of the bravest and most accomplished officers in the British army. This estimable man returned to his native land, after an absence of some years, with a constitution undermined and broken by the hardships and sufferings to which he had been exposed in the public service. He died on the 7th January 1827, rich in faith and hope, and amidst the heartfelt lamentations of all who knew him.

Both he and his elder brothers frequently corresponded with my father. Their letters were replete with information, and were always written in a spirit of tender gratitude and affection. It is to be regretted that in the progress of years most of these communications have shared the fate which awaits all perishable things. Two or three, however, from the pens of the Hon. Charles Stewart, and the Hon. William Stewart, have escaped the ravages of time, and although they may contain nothing of extraordinary interest, they may perhaps afford some gratification to the reader, and will therefore be inserted in the Appendix.

My father was naturally of a contented and happy

frame of mind. He seldom indulged in bitter and unavailing regrets for the past, or in dark and melancholy forebodings as to the future, though he had as warm, generous and tender a heart as ever throbbed in a human bosom—a heart tremblingly alive to the misfortunes and sorrows of others, whatever might be their rank or station in the world. That he was bound to the home of his childhood by the most sacred and endearing ties of filial duty, and fraternal affection, and that he always took a lively interest in the well-being of the different members of his family, is abundantly proved, were there no other evidence, by the tenor of the letters which, from time to time, he addressed to them. Some of these will be brought under the reader's notice.

During his residence in Scotland, a sister to whom he was particularly attached, was visited with an alarming, and, as it proved, fatal illness, brought on by her having slept in a damp bed, while accompanying her father on a journey through Merionethshire. All the means that human skill, assiduity, and tenderness could devise, were resorted to in vain. After lingering for some months, she at length bade this vain world adieu, and, through the rich mercy of her God, passed into those realms of light and love, and glory, and blessedness, where grace will be triumphant, and no sorrow is.

“O'er a lovelier form
Than her's earth seldom closed, nor e'er did Heaven
Receive a purer spirit from the world.”

The stroke was a severe trial to all with whom she was connected, nor least among them to the subject of this imperfect memoir. Her father wrote a hurried letter to him, dated Feb. 1786, in which he says :

“ Your dear sister Margaret has taken her leave of us, having exchanged a mortality of pain and sorrow for an immortality of heavenly happiness. Be not bowed down, my son, with grief not assuaged, nor weep for that which ought rather to give you joy, as her departed spirit is triumphing in its victory over death and the grave ; she lost all her murmuring, and often expressed a wish, in a humble, patient manner, ‘to be present with the Lord.’ With her dying breath she sung,

“ Rwy’n gweled bob dydd’
Mai gwerthfawr yw fydd
Pan elwy i borth angeu
Fy angor i fydd.”

Her remains were taken in a hearse to Llandiveilog, and deposited near her sister’s coffin.”

A singular occurrence, that may deserve recording, took place in connection with the death of this excellent young person. Her father, some time before, entertaining no expectation that her dissolution was so near, had left her in a state of extreme debility, and gone on one of his usual preaching circuits, intending to be absent for several weeks. As soon as the poor sufferer had breathed her last, one of the men servants was despatched to him with the melancholy intelli-

gence. The messenger had not proceeded many miles before he met his master, who was returning home. Mr. Williams, having been informed of the sad event, and having inquired as to the precise time at which it took place, exclaimed, "I knew it." He added no more, and the man was in utter amazement. Mr. Williams pursued his way in deep affliction: on his arrival at home, he was more explicit. He said, that he had dreamed on the night and the very hour, as far as he could ascertain, of his daughter's death, that he repaired to a seaport for the purpose of taking leave of her, as she was about to undertake a voyage to a distant clime; that after tenderly bidding him farewell, she stepped on board a vessel, and immediately sailed off; that he stood on the pier, gazing in poignant sorrow, until the white sails, as he expressed it, disappeared in the distance; that, as soon as he awoke, he was fully persuaded of the true interpretation of the vision, and directed his steps homeward, without delay, instead of proceeding on his journey.

The subject of dreams, much as it has employed the thoughts of philosophical inquirers, is one of the problems which have hitherto baffled all investigation. The writer is far from being disposed to ascribe the dream in question to supernatural influence; and as no theory which he has seen can account for it, he satisfies himself with the belief that it is beyond human knowledge to comprehend the power which the mind is capable of exercising, when the

view of external things is entirely shut out, and it is left as completely as possible to its own workings.

My father's letter to my grandfather, on occasion of this sad bereavement, can neither be transcribed nor read without emotion.

“ Galloway House,

Feb. —, 1786.

“ MY DEAR FATHER,

“ MY whole life had been employed in the pursuit of one favourite object, the acquisition of the means of administering to the comfort and happiness of my friends. Among them there was one whom I never forgot: of her I certainly say that I always hoped to be the humble instrument either of solacing her under her affliction, or of contributing to hasten her recovery. I never thought of forwarding my own interest, without exulting in the idea that I should enjoy my sister's pleasing conversation in advanced life, as I enjoyed it in my younger years; to have her a witness, and a sharer, as I fondly imagined, of my prosperity; to render her, for the remainder of her days, to the extent at least of my ability, comfortable and happy.

“ Happy, indeed, I am firmly persuaded, she is, more so than it could be in my power to render her, but very differently so from what I delighted in picturing to myself. It is no doubt to wean us from the world, to direct our views to nobler objects, to raise our attention to sublimer and better pursuits, that the Disposer of events thus delights to counteract our

designs, and disappoint our hopes. And it must be confessed that the means seem to be well calculated to answer the end in view. Whom would not such a blow, from such a quarter, and in so tender a part, really afflict? Whom would not such bitterness of sorrow wean from the vanity of sublunary things? What pleasure or satisfaction is honour or aggrandizement capable of affording me now? Despite of the precepts of human philosophy, despite of the far more valuable and far more effectual lessons of Christianity, can we help feeling, is it possible not to feel, something beside resignation at being doomed to linger out the remainder of our tedious days destitute of the nearest and dearest, I had almost said of our relations?

“ But I am in danger of forgetting that this was to be a letter of consolation: and consolation is what I am ill calculated to give. You do not, however, my dear father, stand in need of it. The same vigorous faith in the inexhaustible mercies of Heaven, the same blessed hopes, the same anticipated fruition of the unalloyed happiness prepared by the Most High, for them that love him, which have been visibly your support through the embarrassments of life, and which will infallibly be your defence against all the terrors of death, will comfort you under this and every other trial with which a wise God may be pleased to visit you. May we profit by your example, and be enabled under every dispensation of Providence, however distressing and inscrutable, to

submit implicitly to the divine will, be resigned as you are, and faithful to our heavenly Master as you have ever been ! Admitted into a closer communion with the Father of spirits than the generality of mankind, you can interpret those dealings of his hand which appear mysterious to us ; can discover mercy where we apprehend judgment, and kindness where we may complain of severity. May our dependence and our affections be thus placed where they ought, and then we shall not expect to find enduring happiness in those who were given us merely as temporary comforts, nor repine when the fragile reeds on which, in our weakness, we had leaned, are removed, in order, perhaps, to induce us to depend upon a surer and a better support !

“ Happy are they who have this confidence in the goodness of God, when deprived of their dearest friends ! Instead of murmuring against Heaven, they will rejoice that the objects of their fondness died happy, and that at their departure they bore the appearance of “ good and faithful servants ” entering triumphantly “ into the joy of their Lord.” May we be endued with the same exalted hopes, and some portion of the same consolatory faith in the mercies of our Redeemer, that when our best friends are torn from us, we may consider them as delivered from affliction, as removed to regions where, among the just made perfect, they will forget all their pains and sorrows ! And is it possible to indulge the hope that we may be permitted to share in the

blessedness to which she whom we mourn has been called? Is it possible for friends, separated once by death, to meet again, and to taste happiness in each other's society?—for children of the same earthly father, to meet, to know, and to be known, and to glory in the same Redeemer? This would be some consolation to us. But you want none. It is a matter of the greatest triumph to you to have added to the number of the chosen celebrators of our Redeemer's praise. May you see the rest of your children live as she has lived, and die as she has died! and may you never have cause of woe, even from your unworthy son,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

My father, in addition to his duties as a tutor, occasionally devoted himself to labours of another kind. Lord Galloway had been for some time occupied in investigating the pedigree of his ancestors, for the purpose of establishing, if possible, his claims to the English peerage. He had met with unlooked-for opposition on the part of Andrew Stuart, Esq., who asserted a right to the honourable distinction, and on that account, as well as owing to the loss of several valuable and important documents, which either had been destroyed or were inaccessible, the task proved more difficult than was at first anticipated. For these reasons my father was solicited to bestow on it a larger portion of his time than would otherwise have been necessary. As, however, he was

then on the point of completing a union which had long been the object of his wishes, and which he had always regarded as among the happiest circumstances of his life, he determined to resign his appointment in Lord Galloway's family, and he was anxious, as appears from the following letters, that his brother should succeed him.

“ Galloway House,
Feb. 8, 1792.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

* * * * I would have written sooner but that I waited to be able to inform you with certainty of my intended journey to London. I cannot yet, however, say more on the subject, than that I mean to go some time next month. The eldest of the sons now at home (Charles) enters Corpus Christi College this term, and I am requested of course to accompany him to London. Either the other sons are thought too young to pursue similar studies, or some plans are in agitation unknown to me: all the information I may gather, you shall have when we meet. In the meanwhile I must beg you will be resigned and contented, not without hopes that at parting I may have something decided in your favour. At any rate, I shall have the satisfaction to think that I have done all in my power for you; and that I have discharged my duty faithfully while engaged here, so that as far as my connection with mankind is concerned, I may say with the old Roman, ‘ we cannot command success, but we will do more, we will deserve it.’

“ I have written to my friend Pritchard by this day’s post; I hope he will not be sorry to receive my letter, or to receive me, when I reach town; though many years have elapsed since we met, and few letters have passed between us. Indeed, I have experienced so many changes that I know not whither to look for a real friend. This should convince us of the absurdity of placing too much reliance on the mutable objects of a mutable world—*Donec eris felix*, &c.

“ You used to have a strong mind; let me see that you are capable of exerting it, both for your consolation and for my own; prove to me that you are not destitute of the feelings and affections of a brother, and you will find me on all occasions disposed to make you every grateful return.

“ You may address your letter to me as usual, though not under cover, but by the common post; as the family commenced their journey this morning, and I know not how to address them until they write. I hope you enjoy good health, have every thing agreeable to your wishes, as far as your present situation will admit, and place your happiness beyond the reach of mutability and disappointment. Should better things than we look for turn up, well; if not, we must be resigned. Adieu! believe me ready and impatient to send you better news; when I have it not, what can I do but write myself your very affectionate brother,

“ E. WILLIAMS.

“ Rev. Peter Williams,
Burford, Oxon.”

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"Galloway House,
March 11, 1792.

"You see I am still here, and until Lord Galloway writes, which I daily expect, the time of my departure will be quite uncertain. We shall spend some time on the road, as we have several visits to pay; among others to Lady Catherine Graham, young Stewart's sister; so that my arrival in London will be quite as uncertain as my departure from this place, and I cannot, at least at present, specify any time for our meeting.

"If I find it possible to make any stay at Oxford, I shall take care to write you word; if not, you may expect I will lose no time in paying you a visit at Burford. Be assured it is an interview to which I have long looked forward with much pleasure; and I have no doubt that, after so long an absence, you will give me a welcome reception.

"To stimulate Lord Galloway in his application for you to the Lord Chancellor, I proposed, as you formerly wished, to resign Caio in your favour, on condition that his lordship ensured your presentation to that living, taking my chance for another appointment from the same quarter. Indeed, I so far urged him, as to promise, in case he thought of you, not to trouble him for a prebend, which he once offered to procure for me. So you see I do not forget your interest.—Your affectionate brother,

"E. WILLIAMS.

"Rev. Peter Williams,
Burford, Oxon."

A short time after the date of the foregoing letters, my father married Mademoiselle Anne Adelaide Grebert, a native of Nancy in Lorraine, with whom he had become acquainted during his residence at Galloway House. She appears to have possessed a cultivated mind and great kindness of disposition. Her parents, who were royalists of considerable rank, were obliged, like so many other objects of revolutionary fury during the disturbances in 1790, to seek refuge in England.

My father soon fulfilled his promise of visiting Burford. Mrs. Williams accompanied him ; and his brother, who had previously heard nothing of the marriage, evinced, on seeing him, as much astonishment as gratification. After remaining here a few days, the happy couple travelled to South Wales, where my father's friends resided. For some reason or other, he had not informed his parents of the important step which he had taken, and he seems to have been determined to surprise them. It was late when he and his bride reached Carmarthen ; but the darkness of the night did not daunt them from proceeding towards the place of their destination, which was a few miles further on. The roads were rugged and narrow. When they were within a few yards of Gelly, the postchaise broke down. The inmates of the house, having for some time retired to rest, were roused from their slumbers by the crash of the carriage, and by the loud jargon of strange voices in a foreign tongue, not a syllable of which they were

able to understand, and they were at a loss to imagine what could be the cause of the disturbance. The circumstance of the appeal to their hospitality being from *French* people, with whose nation Great Britain was then at open war, had no tendency to lessen the consternation, or to soften the hearts of the besieged. The baying of dogs, and the shouts of men who had come to the assistance of the strangers, were by this time tremendous. At last, "It is your son Ely that is here," was heard above the storm. These accents no sooner reached the ears of the old people, than hostilities gave way to the most cordial welcome.

My father remained with his parents two or three weeks. He then returned to London, and entered upon the duties of evening lecturer at All-Hallows, Lombard-street, as well as upon those of chaplain and private secretary to a gentleman of independent property, of the name of Blakeney.* But he had not been thus employed much above a year, before he was again solicited by Lord Galloway to take a leading part in the genealogical researches to which allusion has already been made. In order to facilitate this object, he was prevailed upon to remove to Edinburgh. Here he had free access to the Scotch

* Mr. Blakeney seems to have been a truly amiable man, hospitably inclined in the extreme. He was eldest son to the Hon. William Blakeney, lieut.-general to his majesty's forces, colonel of his majesty's Inniskillen regiment of foot, and lieut.-governor of Minorca.

Register Office, and to other public and private repositories, and ultimately, as will be seen, his labours were crowned with complete success.

About the year 1794, he published a pamphlet entitled, "A Genealogical Account of Lord Galloway's Family." Soon afterwards three other works upon the same subject appeared from his pen, under the several titles of a "View of the Evidence for Lord Galloway;" "Notes on the State of Evidence respecting the Stewarts of Castlemilk;" and "a Counter Statement of Proofs." Each of these publications was highly panegyricized for ingenuity and acuteness, by the author of a work entitled, "The Genealogy of the Stewarts Refuted, in a Letter to Andrew Stuart, Esq., M. P."—"Accounts of individuals, as it appears to me," observes the author, "may be drawn up after three different methods: first, as simple genealogy; secondly, as biography, properly so called; and thirdly, as biographic genealogy; by which may be understood a union of both. Of the first sort, the 'State of Evidence for Lord Galloway,' proceeding from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Williams, is, in my judgment, an admirable specimen. In that work there is no perplexity of detail, no admission of extraneous matter. The deduction of the various races is regular and luminous; the style neat and simple; clear, without wasting itself in diffusion, and correct, without rising to exuberance of ornament."

In addition to these works, my father drew up, in

the form of a letter to Lord Galloway, which was afterwards published, "A Report of the Dangerous State of Garliestown Bay, and of its many capabilities of improvement, shewing the necessity of constructing a Pier," &c. He commences with a geological description of the whole coast. He then points out the practicability of forming a harbour that might afford shelter to several hundred sail of shipping: from the depth of water his majesty's ships and cruizers would be able to lie in it with safety; and as there would be also room for them to "beat out" when the wind was "right in," this would operate as an effectual check to smuggling. After suggesting various schemes for the better cultivation of the soil, and making several nice calculations as to the first outlay, and the subsequent advantages and profits, he goes on to observe; "In examining plans of this nature, it becomes an important question, what benefit will accrue from the completion of it, so as to reimburse the expenses incurred? The only advantage which can accrue to your lordship is from an additional rent of the adjoining farms; for as to tenements situated in the interior parts of the country, they could not be much benefited by removing the harbour to a greater distance from them. The adjacent lands, by every information I could procure, appear to have been lately let on leases of nineteen years. From these no returns can be expected, to repay the outlay for facilitating the carriage of manure, in less than twenty years. So that any money

expended at present for the purpose must lie dormant, at least till the expiration of that period. The more distant part of the country appears susceptible of greater improvement, and capable of making a quicker return. So extensive a tract of ground, absolutely in the state of nature, presents an inexhaustible mine of wealth, and seems to court the hand of industry. Let good roads be carried through it, and let the farmers be encouraged to be liberal in enclosures and in the use of manure, and of the plough, and the value of the land in a few years may increase in a tenfold proportion.

“But it is impossible to leave this subject without your lordship’s attention to the moss of Cree. This tract of land offers the most flattering prospect. It consists, perhaps, of two thousand acres, at present not worth threepence an acre; in a few years it might be rendered worth twenty shillings an acre, for the first two or three crops would amply compensate for every previous labour. By way of experiment, let any number of acres, a hundred for instance, be measured off from that part of the moss adjoining the river; let it be subdivided into smaller inclosures of about five acres each. Let a deep ditch be formed on all sides of the smaller enclosure, with drains falling into them wherever drains may be deemed necessary. The contents of the ditches might be thrown up for mounds, and planted at leisure with willows, alder, and such trees as flourish in a marshy soil. The enclosure being thus formed, the surface

may be breast-ploughed and burnt, the ashes scattered on the land, and covered with a good coat of lime, and in a favourable year such a crop of corn might be expected from it as would nearly repay the whole expense of draining, &c. Owing to the natural depth of the soil, there can be no danger of exhausting it. The system of husbandry might be adopted, for years, without any detriment to the land.

“For the quantity of lime necessary for such a purpose, we must naturally look to Whitehaven. Every inquiry has been made relative to the price of lime. It is generally sold at the rate of fourpence-halfpenny per bushel at the kiln, and on an average at the rate of sevenpence per bushel at the ship's side. The difference of expense is occasioned by the rate of cartage, which increases in proportion to the distance of the kiln from the water. As to the freight to Scotland, the most moderate terms yet mentioned come from Douglas of Garliestown; his sloop carries 500 bushels, and he expects to clear £12 by every trip, which is nearly at the rate of fivepence-farthing per bushel.

“As to any calculation of the profit arising from the whole business, there are so many secrets of trade that it is difficult to obtain any data to go upon; but on the fairest computation, after every necessary deduction for labour, carriage, freight, &c., the net profit cannot exceed twopence per bushel. To underlet it, has been suggested as the safest plan for

the renter of a kiln, and to stipulate, if possible, for so many thousand bushels from the tenant free of every expense. Another expedient is to contract with a species of labourers, termed borers, who prepare the materials, and manufacture the lime, at so much per 100 bushels. Then there is some danger of imposition ; for, in order to save labour, they might burn the lime imperfectly, or, in their choice of a quarry, might consult the ease of acquisition rather than the excellence of the stone. In any other mode of managing matters, the risk of imposition may be still greater. The professional limeburners are generally agriculturists, who engage their servants in that business at a period of the year when they cannot be better employed.

“Should the measure be adopted, it may be expedient to erect a building over every kiln, in such a form that its superstructure may resemble a cone. By these means the coals necessary for the operation may be secured without any fear of depredations, and the business carried on at all seasons without apprehension of having the kiln extinguished by the rain. A storehouse at a convenient distance from the water may also be necessary, otherwise the lime must, at a considerable loss, be frequently left exposed to the severities of the weather ; or the hand of the manufacturer be often stopped while he waits the arrival of shipping. The landing on this side of the water will in time, it is hoped, be every way convenient ; a circumstance in which the quay at Garliestown

would have its use. It is now hoped that government must see their advantage in forming a good harbour here." * * * *

At the time that the report was published, my father also drew up a petition to government on the same subject. A draft of this petition was presented by Lord Galloway to the king, to which circumstance an allusion is made in one of his lordship's letters. Each of these documents met with a very favourable reception. The most important of the suggestions which they contained were adopted by the inhabitants; the prayer of the petition was granted; and Garliestown is at present as flourishing a town as any of its size on the coast.

While my father was engaged in these labours, it pleased the Supreme Disposer of events to visit him with a severe affliction. His little boy, an only child, not more than thirteen months old, was taken ill and died. One day he was fondling it on his knee, as was his habit, particularly during its sickness, when, all at once, it was seized with convulsions, and instantly expired. Mrs. Williams was at that time seriously indisposed, and this stroke was more than her tender frame could bear. She survived it only a few short weeks. Her death is thus recorded in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for February 1796: "Died at Edinburgh, Anne Adelaide Grebert, an emigrant, and native of Nancy in Lorraine. She was married, 1792, in London, to the Rev. Eliezer Williams, M. A., vicar of Cynvil Gaio

and Llansawel, in Carmarthenshire, South Wales, and chaplain to the Earl of Galloway. In very trying situations, and during a severe and tedious indisposition of her husband's, she exercised towards him unabating and unequalled tenderness and affection; and manifested the most unaffected piety towards God, and the most cheerful resignation to the dispensations of his providence on the death of a most beautiful little boy, thirteen months old. Both were buried in the Canongate."

In after years, my father was accustomed occasionally to dwell on the recollection of this period of his life with much seriousness and emotion. Although the constitution of his mind was vigorous, far above the ordinary standard, he felt these to be severe and awful bereavements.

The following letter may serve to shew how much his friends regarded him as an object of sympathy :

"MY DEAR SIR,

"14, Camden Street,
27th Jan. 1796.

"AN attempt to console you for an irreparable loss would be highly impertinent in me. Yet may not one who has experienced vicissitudes in life, and been deprived of parents and children dearly beloved, venture to remind you where comfort may be found. An imbecile mind will be solaced by company, amusements, and trifles that call it away, for the moment, from contemplating the object of its grief. But yours is not of that character. Indulge

it then, dwell upon the virtues, the amiable and affectionate disposition, the animated though Christian resignation of the dear departed. Exert your mental powers, and imitate her. Nature must take her course; it is impossible to counteract her totally, without a violence which injures those whom it is meant to assist.

“Your darling boy! surely you must be convinced that our blessed friend was spared many a severe pang in her last moments, by knowing that the little innocent was in bliss. My dear Sir, you cannot form an idea of the agonizing apprehensions a parent feels at the thought of leaving a helpless infant in a world of sin and misery. You yourself, though sorely smarting under the bereavement, must, upon reflection, acknowledge it is best. I know it. One of my six children, the first who lived to prove the fascinating power of dawning reason, had so entwined herself with my very existence, that when it pleased the Almighty to take her from me, I thought, as every one did, that I should have sunk beneath the stroke. I had at one time, when Marcella lived, a dangerous illness: anxiety for her was my greatest pain. God was pleased to restore me, to shew me my error, and my want of confidence in him. I outlived her who had been my chief concern, and was blessed with two more, who have since followed her to the bright realms of light and glory. I thought, as you do, that there was nothing left in this world worth living for. However, there is that

in heaven 'for which we bear to live,' and to lead to which our afflictions are as 'paths of peace.'

"How could you think of apologizing for the subject of your letter? For although it brought with it pain and sorrow, it greatly flattered me by shewing you distinguished how sincerely I would sympathize with you. Were I near you, we would sit in some retired corner, exempt from intrusion, and talk of the virtues of *one*, and the innocence of seven, till we should forget our grief, and only think of them as objects to direct our attention to that happiness which we hope they have attained. Indeed there are no means so effectual to wean us from repining at what we think a loss. When you have been brought to this degree of resignation, take some interesting book that will confirm you in your good intention; and when again some endearing recollection intrudes, and unmans or *unchristianizes* you, (if I may use the word,) yield quietly to sorrow once more, till your mind gradually recovers its proper tone.

"I know my presumption in offering you any advice, yet I hope you will forgive me, as it proceeds unstudied from my heart, without thought or ceremony. Life is at best precarious; my health has been greatly so since my return from England. *Entres nous*, I have strong reason to believe that the *hurricanes* of which I was compelled to partake in London, laid the foundation of my illness, and I must confess that the agitation I underwent previously to my departure, gave me great uneasiness, as it pre-

vented my taking leave of one whom now I can never behold on this side of the grave. How delighted should we have been, had it pleased the Almighty to realize the agreeable surprise the dear woman imagined! I often lamented forgetting the French language, but that of the heart is understood.

“Mr. Beytagh condoles sincerely with you, and begs your acceptance of his most friendly wishes, for the re-establishment of your tranquillity. He thinks I have already said too much on so melancholy a subject, and therefore postpones writing until you can bear to talk of something less interesting. May that period soon arrive!

“There is nothing that I could so strenuously commend to you as the invention of some new employment. Is there anything you have not studied? If so apply to it. Write something. Become politician, metaphysician, or any other *ician*, where you have not already trodden and explored. Tell me, do you think we shall know one another in the next world? I give it you, as a theme or thesis, or whatever it should be called,—but, you must employ your pen upon it, and be assured you will be running no risk in doing me that honour, as I hope my principles are fixed, and that I am neither bigot nor enthusiast.

“Believe me, my dear sir, your very sincere friend and humble servant,

“ISABELLA BEYTAGH.”

The genealogical works which my father laid before the public, and which were characterized by a reviewer as “exhibiting a body of evidence not more remarkable for its perspicuity than for the acuteness with which it was drawn up,” have already been noticed. The subject was now wound up by a petition to the king. This petition extended over several closely written folio pages. After briefly recapitulating the evidence in support of Lord Galloway’s claim, it enumerates the several gallant achievements by which different branches of the family had from time to time distinguished themselves. It enlarges particularly upon the hardships and privations to which they had submitted, and upon the honour which had been gathered around the British name, on occasions when some of the Garlieses had valiantly fought and bled. Among other historical facts, there is an interesting narrative of the siege of Portmahon, in 1756. In defending this fortress, Major-General Stewart, a younger son of James, Earl of Galloway, was pre-eminent. His skill and personal bravery contributed not a little to the noble stand which the garrison maintained. There is also an account of the spirited attack made by the British troops on Fort Saratoga, in North America, where the undaunted courage of our countrymen was so conspicuous. Here some of the most illustrious commanders shed the last drop of their blood in adding new lustre to their country’s glory; among them was the Honourable George Stewart, a younger brother of the petitioner.

The petitioner further states that the attachment evinced for so many generations by the Stewarts of Garlies towards the house of Lennox, led to the sacrifice of many lives, and to the diminution of the family inheritance ; but that, as an excitement to perseverance in submitting to their privations, they were constantly reminded of the necessity of supporting the dignity of the house of Lennox, in whose interest the members of the family of Garlies were so intimately concerned, as partakers of its fame, and as reversionary heirs of its honours, which they were taught to consider as a reward of all their toils, and a remuneration for all their losses : That the loyalty and public services for which the family had so long been remarkable, sprang from their attachment to their country, and from their affection for their sovereign ; and that it was hoped his majesty would not deem them unworthy of recompense. The noble petitioner, in conclusion, humbly prayed that, should loss of family documents, through unfortunate accidents, the lapse of years, or the turbulence of the times, during the revolution of so many centuries, cause an apparent informality in any part of the evidence adduced in support of his claim, his majesty would be pleased to adopt such measures and give such directions as in his wisdom he might deem most likely to prove effectual, in causing his petitioner to be invested with the honours which he flattered himself would appear, to all parties, to be his hereditary right, and in support of which his ancestors had so

profusely bled, and the family estate had been so severely burdened.

In pursuing this important object, my father was employed for the space of at least eight years; and it is not too much to say that few genealogical writers have laboured with greater diligence, or been more distinguished by a clear and perspicuous arrangement of their materials. He has eminently shewn his skill in the happy art of simplifying an abstruse subject, and of making it intelligible to an ordinary reader. The controversy between Lord Galloway and Mr. Stuart was complicated and tedious, and many were the genealogists who took part in the discussion; but he was generally acknowledged to be by far the most accurate of them all. Indeed, it is difficult for any but those who have been similarly engaged, to form a just idea of his merits. He had but one leading purpose in view, but one powerful incentive to a task in itself so uninviting and so arduous, and that was the gratification of his noble friend and patron. In thus testifying his respect, however, for his lordship, he thought he would strive as far as he was able to interest the public also, by rendering the biographical portion of his work both pleasing and instructive. Of the characteristic qualities of his intellect, these labours present a highly favourable example, and they would alone establish his reputation as a candid, fair, and skilful controversialist.

Lord Galloway's claims having been made satisfactorily apparent, not only was his lordship created

an English peer, but the pedigree, which had become intricate and imperfect, was now completely restored. In the Gazette is this memorable entry : "31. May, 1796, John, Earl of Galloway, K. T. created peer of England, with the title of Baron Stewart of Garlies, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright." Some of his lordship's letters of this period shew that he felt how deeply he was indebted to his advocate.

About the commencement of the year 1796, my father went back to London, and resumed his duties, both as lecturer at All-Hallows, and as secretary and librarian to Mr. Blakeney. This gentleman, in consequence of his increasing infirmities, seldom went from home, but he saw much company at his own table. The arrangements of his establishment were on a scale of almost princely magnificence. Here my father was introduced to many distinguished families. Here, in particular, he became acquainted with the late Sir George Leonard Staunton, Bart. and his lady, whose kind and generous friendship he valued among his choicest treasures. It was here too that he first saw his second wife, Jane Amelia Nugent, daughter of St. George Armstrong, Esq. of Annaduff, near Drumsna, in the county of Leitrim, a near relation and intimate friend of Mr. Blakeney's. Captain Armstrong served for many years in the royal marines, and at this period held a commission in the Westmoreland militia. My father's second marriage was solemnized at Chichester, towards the close of the year 1796. He continued to reside in

London until the death of his friend Mr. Blakeney, an event which occurred in 1799. He then removed to Chadwell, in Essex, of which parish he became the curate. In addition, he held the appointment of chaplain to the garrison of Tilbury Fort.

It has been erroneously stated that he withdrew into this comparative seclusion for the purpose of retrenchment, as if his mode of living in the metropolis had been so disproportioned to his means, as to be culpably extravagant. His habits, however, were not such as to justify the imputation. It is true that his income was inconsiderable, and it is true that on Mr. Blakeney's death it suffered some diminution; but it is also true that, possessing a serious and literary turn of mind, he was led to this step, in order that he might devote more of his time to the sacred duties of his profession, and to those tranquil enjoyments of domestic life which were so congenial with his mild and affectionate spirit. To the last he was in the habit of recurring to that interesting period which he found to be unspeakably happy.

No sooner was he fixed in his new abode than he set himself earnestly to work: he collected some of the odes which he had amused himself with composing while at sea, and having added a few others to them, and appended such explanatory notes as he thought to be necessary, he sent them to the press. In 1801 they appeared before the public, in a quarto volume, under the title of "Nautical Odes, or

Poetical Sketches, designed to commemorate the Achievements of the British Navy," and dedicated to his friend and patron, Earl Galloway. On the whole, they met with a favourable reception, although his finances were not much improved by the publication.

In the "Antijacobin Review" for the year 1801,* are the following remarks :

"The purpose of this work is so laudable, and so congenial with the affections of Englishmen, that every man who feels for the honour of his country must be prepared to read it with patriotic enthusiasm. The work is dedicated to Lord Viscount Garlies, but the author does not subscribe his name. The first tribute to naval heroism, in this collection of Nautical Odes, is addressed to the memory of Lord Hawke ; and the author proceeds to celebrate every subsequent achievement of British valour, on its natural element, down to the present times. If the author does not reach the sublimest heights of poetry, he, at times, soars to no ordinary pitch ; and, considering the similarity in the actions which he records, he has shewn a considerable share of ingenuity in varying his images. He has also displayed a power of irony and sarcasm in addressing the French, or in speaking what he supposes ought to be their sentiments, which gives an agreeable variety to his work. He seems indeed to be tho-

* June 1801, p. 267.

roughly the *seaman's friend*, and the few tales which follow his "Odes" are calculated to promote *nautical morality* and prudence. The whole concludes with a monody on the death of Admiral Barrington, which is honourable to the poet as well as to the departed hero ; we shall extract one of our author's odes as a specimen of his manner."

The "Odes" are also thus noticed in the *Nautical Magazine* :* " This work contains thirty-one Odes, and other pieces of poetry, all on nautical subjects, which, with very few exceptions, relate entirely to events that have taken place during the present war. Their style, though perhaps not rising into the highest sublimity or excellence, is far above mediocrity. To the poetical pieces just mentioned, are added six tales, in verse, very properly intended to inculcate the practice of virtue among the seamen, and reform their manners. To sum up our opinion in a few words, we highly commend the intentions and attempt of the author, fully persuaded that, although he may not rival Homer in genius, he may at least equal Gay in mildness and benevolence."

In the " Flowers of Literature" † is the following paragraph in reference to the " Odes : " " Every Englishman, who feels for the honour of his country, will read these poetical effusions with patriotic enthusiasm."

* Vol. v. p. 331.

† Vol. i. p. 454.

My father was also a frequent writer in the "Cambrian Register," the "Gentleman's Magazine," and other similar publications of the day. For the most part he made use of a fictitious signature, and on this account it is difficult precisely to ascertain his contributions.

It may with justice be said that no man was more jealous of his Christian principles. When attacks were made upon what he believed to be the only hope and stay of the soul, he was among the foremost to buckle on his armour, and go forth to the great conflict. In some of the ephemeral literature of the times, he exposed the ignorant flippancy of Paine's "Age of Reason." He also took a part in the memorable controversy with Dr. Priestley, as to the doctrines of the early Christian church; and he subsequently afforded important assistance to Dr. Burgess, in refuting the dangerous heresies of Belsham. Besides this, he translated several of the Psalms of David, and not a few epigrams from the Greek Anthology, into English verse. His principal work, however, appears to have been a poem, which, there can be little doubt, he intended for the public eye. It consisted of Hints to Females in High Life, and is characterized by great energy of style, refinement of taste, and originality of thought. The manuscript is in a very imperfect state, but a few extracts will be given in the Appendix.

There was another poetical work which he was preparing to publish, with various notes and histori-

cal illustrations, and of which his design was to represent himself as merely the editor, although, from the few fragments found among his papers, it is certain that he was himself the author. The subject seems to be the Dying Confession of a Revolutionary Culprit. In glancing at the political aspect of his own times, and lamenting his former delinquencies, the hero severely censures the irrational and pernicious conduct of those who, in their blind zeal for innovation, were gradually undermining the bulwarks of the constitution, and hastening on the ruin of their country.

Two or three specimens of the text, and of the notes, may gratify the reader. If in these productions the author does not rise to the noblest heights of poetical beauty; if they do not abound with the most splendid offerings of the muses,—they yet display the graces of a remarkably easy versification, and have much of that rare felicity of expression which marks a refined taste. There is indeed but little doubt, that if my father had been blessed with a longer continuance of tranquil retirement, and, instead of being occupied in the wearisome and monotonous labours of a school, had enjoyed better opportunities of sedulously cultivating his powers, he would, even at the present day, have possessed, as a writer, no inconsiderable share of the public favour.

In the autumn of the year 1804, he took his family to see his friends in South Wales.

On their way a circumstance occurred, which, at

the time was the occasion of considerable anxiety. Soon after their arrival at the inn at Bristol, the youngest little girl, about three years of age, by some means or other, escaped the vigilance of the servant. She was soon missed, and immediate search was made in every direction. No trace of her could be obtained, and it was greatly feared she had been kidnapped. After some hours, however, during which the feelings of the parents were such as may be better imagined than described, she was accidentally discovered in the coach-house of a neighbouring inn, lying asleep, with her tiny arm locked in the wheel of a carriage. It was supposed, as far as could be gathered from her unaffected tale, that she had been wandering about, till seeing a coach-house, she went in to look for "*Papa's tarriage*," and that, finding no person there to answer her inquiries, she became frightened, and cried herself to sleep.

My father, in consequence of a serious accident which befell his mother, who was then about eighty years of age, was detained from his clerical duties longer than he had expected ; and, on his return, not meeting with so favourable a reception from his rector as he had anticipated, a want of confidence arose between them, that caused a short interruption of friendship. They were happily reconciled by the kind interference of their common friend, the Rev. Sir Adam Gordon, Bart., rector of West Tilbury. This circumstance, however, together with a desire

to labour in the vineyard of his native country, tended in some degree to exercise an influence on his subsequent career. For, shortly afterwards, the vicarage of Lampeter, Cardiganshire, became vacant, and was offered to him by Dr. Burgess, at that time bishop of St. David's. He accepted of the living, and was inducted to it on the 14th of July, 1805, and finally took his family to Lampeter in the autumn of the same year.

My father had not long been settled in his new abode before he discovered that the benefice did not answer his expectations. At that time it did not yield £200 per annum. He therefore opened a grammar school, which the bishop licensed, with a view to preparing young men for the established church. As the duties of an instructor of the rising generation are, perhaps, scarcely inferior in importance to the sacred functions of a Christian minister, so none should be better qualified for such an office than those to whom is confided the precious message of reconciliation and peace. Yet it may, at the least, be a question how far the one is compatible with the other.

Lampeter was, at that period, a poor and considerable place. Uneducated preachers from among the lowest classes of society, were starting up; and nothing could be more desirable than to check their rapid growth, and, if possible, to train up plants in a more cultivated soil. Such a nursery, therefore, as my father's, in that immediate neighbourhood,

was hailed by the friends of the established church with great delight. It not only yielded present good, but it has been the spring of blessings which will, perhaps, continue to flow to the natives of the principality, for ages and ages that are yet to come. These were golden opportunities to the inhabitants of the town, and of the surrounding district, and they were not slow in availing themselves of them ; but he soon found that the employment neither brought him competence, nor added materially to the happiness of his life. At the same time, the proofs which he received of grateful attachment and devotedness on the part of his pupils, chased away many a cloud that would otherwise have darkened his path. The glebe-house was in too dilapidated a state for him to occupy it as a place of residence. The bishop, therefore, allowed him to convert it into a school-room, and to denominate it a "Licensed Grammar School." From this seminary, young men, in conformity with stated regulations, were admitted, at the usual age, into holy orders, and it may with truth be asserted, that no school in the principality attained a higher reputation, and that there has been no period in the history of the Welsh church in which have appeared so many examples of ministerial devotedness and manly eloquence. The effects are even now experienced in the fulness of the blessings of the gospel.

A few years after the establishment of this seminary, the Rev. John Williams, the late venerable master of Ystrad Meirig Grammar School, and father

of the present eminent rector of Edinburgh High School, visited the "rival chieftain," and, on approaching the building, made some ironical remarks on what he was pleased to term the "magnificence of its architecture;" "Come, come," said my father, "don't be too hard, if the exterior be not according to your taste, I hope that you will find less to condemn in the furniture."

A religious and literary association, connected with the St. David's Auxiliary Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, had been formed for the purpose of diffusing religious knowledge among the poor, and of promoting charity and union among the clergy and all classes of Christians within the diocese. The particular objects of the society were :

1. To distribute Bibles and Common-Prayer Books, at reduced prices ; small religious tracts, in Welsh and English, gratis among the poor, especially such tracts as are recommended by the London "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

2. To establish libraries for the use of the clergy.

3. To facilitate the means of education to young men intended for the ministry of the Church of England, who are educated in the diocese.

4. To encourage the establishing of English schools for the benefit of the poor.

5. To promote the institution of Sunday schools.

In order to give a stimulus to the clergy in their theological pursuits, and to promote among that body the study of English and Welsh composition, at the

suggestion of the bishop of the diocese, a premium was annually offered, by the Committee of that Society, for the best essay on some subject connected with the Christian ministry. That for the year 1807, was the "Pelagian Heresy, and the refutation of it at Llanddewi Brefi, by St. David." It appears from a letter which my father addressed to his brother, that he had some intention of becoming a candidate.

"The Sermon," says he, of "Dewi at Llanddewi Brefi, against the Pelagian Heresy, is the subject proposed for the prize dissertation next Easter. I have a mind to try for it. There is an account of Dewi's sermon and miracles at Llanddewi Brefi, in "Eurgrawn Cymraeg," which you have; and I will thank you to furnish me with a transcript of it as soon as possible. There is a reference to it in "Giraldus Cambrensis." I have read something likewise relative to it in Bede, Nennius, Stillingfleet, "Wall's Infant Baptism," and "Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History." Any extracts that you can send me from the two former works, if you have them in your library, will be of service to me. Dubricius, whom St. David succeeded in the episcopal seat, died in the year 522,* and the memorable sermon was preached about the year 519. Am I correct?"

From some cause or other my father gave up his

* Dubricius, weighed down by age and its attendant infirmities, resigned his sacred charge a considerable time before his death. This will account for the apparent anachronism above.

intention. The prize was awarded by the Committee to the Rev. John Williams, of Ystrad Meirig. Such contests, when managed in a truly Christian spirit, have proved of considerable benefit, as well to the clergy themselves as to their flocks; and if a fund were formed for a similar purpose in each diocese of the principality, not limiting the candidates to compositions in the English language, there is every reason to believe that the beneficial effects would soon be apparent.

About this period, Mr. (now Sir Samuel Rush) Meyrick was busily engaged in collecting materials for a History of Cardiganshire. He was glad to avail himself of my father's assistance, for he knew how familiar he was with the topography of the country, and its antiquities; nor was he slow in acknowledging his obligations. In a letter, which my father addressed to his brother, he says:—"I will do what I can with respect to the Welsh Magazine, but I cannot promise you much assistance. And the people in this neighbourhood, for the most part, do not seem to be very bookish. Mr. Meyrick has been applying to me for aid in his history. I fear I cannot serve him to the extent he wishes, for my leisure time, at present, is much circumscribed. I have, besides attending to my school, and the duties of my parish, two Welsh sermons to compose every week, and much miscellaneous reading and writing to occupy almost every moment that I can command."

The accounts of Lampeter and of Caio, which he

contributed to Carlisle's "Topographical Dictionary of Wales," a work remarkable for the minuteness as well as for the accuracy of its information, afford a specimen of the manner in which he treated such subjects, and cannot be otherwise than interesting to the reader.

"Llanbedr, or Llanbedr Pont Stephen, is situate in the beautiful vale of Teifi ; and about half a mile distant from the town, is a bridge over the Teifi, which is supposed to have been erected by King Stephen, in one of his excursions into Wales : he is also thought to have encamped on a meadow near the river, still called the king's meadow ; and in an adjoining field a subterraneous chamber was discovered, called Seler y Brenhin, i. e., the king's cellar : several curious stone steps led down to this royal apartment, but a neighbouring farmer lately demolished it for the sake of the stones with which it was constructed. This appears to have been a much larger place formerly than at present ; and the number of its inhabitants gave them some consequence, as frequent mention is made, in the Welsh Chronicle, of the men of St. Peter having accomplished some action or other ; and this is further confirmed by a piece of ground to the south-west of the town, still called Mynwent Twmas, i. e. St. Thomas's church-yard, in which pieces of leaden coffins are frequently dug up : the tradition is, that the ruins of this church were standing about two hundred years ago, and the street leading to it, is

called St. Thomas's-street. A small portion of this parish is considered as appertaining to the hundred of Troed yr Aur, though at a considerable distance from that hundred; this portion is called the township of Trêf y Goed. This parish contains 4000 acres of land; of which nearly 1500 acres are cultivated. Two-thirds of the tithes go to the precentor of St. David's: the vicar has the other third, and receives hay tithe from one parcel of the parish, in addition to which he has a salary of £15 per annum from the see of St. David's. There is a house in the town, called the Priory, in the garden of which are some low ruined walls, and an aged yew-tree; and tradition says, that a priory formerly stood near this spot, but it is not mentioned in Tanner's "*Notitia Monastica*," nor in any records now extant. There are several mineral springs in the neighbourhood, but they are now seldom resorted to. Here are two tumuli, or castles, one of which is not far from the church, and the other is near the road leading to Aber Ystwith; the fosses round the latter are almost complete. On the common are some remains of a Roman road; and near Olwen is a curious artificial hill, on which was a Roman camp, and where part of a Roman military mill was lately discovered. On the summit of the hill, to the eastward of this camp, are some Druidical remains; on one side whereof is a large Roman encampment, and on the other side is a still larger British or Flemish encampment of an oval form. Castell Rhegett is also in this parish;

and nearly opposite to it, on the other side of the Teifi, is the Gaer, an entrenched British post. The Britons seem here to have disputed every inch of ground with their invaders. The church is very ancient, and has the remains of a rood-loft within it, and some monuments of the Millfield family. Millfield was a very ancient seat of the Lloyds, baronets. The Vicar of Llandovery's favourite son having perished in an intrigue there, the father uttered the well known curse,—

“The curse of God on Maes y Felin Hall,
And every stone in its detested wall.”

The country people will have it that the family never throve since; that the place was soon reduced to a heap of ruins; and when the estate fell into the hands of the Lloyds of Peterwell, that they soon felt the effects of the same malediction, and every family that subsequently came into the possession of these obnoxious lands; in proof whereof, they shew the modern built house of Peterwell, now a mass of rubbish. In a charming situation, on the side of a sloping hill to the westward of the church, stood anciently the mansion of the lords of Llan Bedr, called Arglwyddi Llan Bedr. Tradition represents them as men of great opulence, and points out the remains of a causeway that led by a stone bridge over the river Croyw Ddwr, in a direct line from the mansion-house to the west door of the church. This estate fell subsequently into the hands of Lord Marchmont's family; and some elderly persons, lately living, re-

membered Lord Marchmont in possession of part of it. Archbishop Baldwin, and Giraldus de Barri, are stated to have successfully promoted the service of the cross here, by their united exhortations."

"Cynwyl Caio, in the county of Carmarthen, is beautifully situate near the rivers Cothi and Twrch. In the heroic elegies of Llywarch Hen, a celebrated poet who flourished from about the year 520 to 630, Caio is called Caio Gaer, which seems to imply that it was then considered as a city, or, at least, as a well fortified place; and from the magnitude of the church, it is conjectured that some monastic or ecclesiastical institution was established here in the middle centuries. At the mines within this parish, which were doubtless worked by the Romans, is a well of remarkably cold water, issuing from a rock, and considered formerly as infallibly efficacious in rheumatic complaints. Near Briw Nant, the seat of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, and on the estate of J. Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi, are two sulphureous springs, which are supposed to be superior to the wells in the counties of Brecknock and Radnor; but they are scarcely known, and remain in a very neglected state. Mr. Rasp, the mineralogist, from an experiment made upon one of them, found that the water was impregnated with a greater quantity of sulphur than any spring that he had visited. Near Pump Saint is a chalybeate spring of great celebrity in the neighbourhood for the many extraordinary cures which it is reported to have effected. At Maes Llan Wrthwl, in this parish, a great battle

was fought between the Romans and the ancient Britons; and a Roman general was interred there. Under the threshold of the door, at the seat of J. Bowen, Esq., are the neglected fragments of a stone, with an inscription which is given at length in Camden. There are several tumuli in the neighbourhood; particularly near a bridge called Pont Rhŷd Remus, i. e. the bridge on Remus's Ford. Roman bricks are often dug up in the adjacent fields. Tradition says, that a large town, called y Dref Gôch yn, Neheubarth, i. e. the red town in South Wales, was built here by the Roman soldiery, and that the houses were principally constructed of brick. Near the summit of a hill where, at present, there is no water, are the ruins of a mill, called Melin Milwyr, i. e. the soldiers' mill. The traces of an aqueduct are observed near the spot. The river was raised with immense labour, and brought over the highest hills for many miles, and poured over the excavated mountain, where they dug for ore, in order to wash away the dross in the manner described by Pliny. It is hardly credible that a stream of the magnitude of the Cothi could be thus raised, and carried so prodigious a distance over steep precipices; but the vestiges of the work are still visible, and excite every intelligent person's admiration. Considerable quantities of gold are supposed to have been formerly obtained in these mines. A beautiful golden torques, now in the possession of J. Johnes, Esq., was ploughed up by his servants in the common field;

the extremity of which was adorned with a curious figure of a serpent, of the same pure metal. Another torques adorned with the figure of a dolphin of the same material, was dug up not long ago near the same spot; and Roman ornaments, though never searched for, are frequently discovered in the vicinity of these ancient mines. In digging for gravel to repair the roads, a common coarse pebble was lately found here, with an amethyst in the middle of its upper surface, which, on examination, proved to be a very valuable antique of Diana; it is now in the possession of J. Johnes, Esq. On the road to Llanddewi Brefi, at a place called Hên Llan in this parish, there is a Roman causeway, called by the inhabitants Sarn Helen: the usual appellation in the principality for Roman roads, in honour of Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine the Great, whom they represent as a native of Wales."

My father's school was now increasing rapidly, and the number of applications for the admission of pupils was so great, that he felt himself under the necessity of removing into a more commodious house which had been recently built, and in which he continued to reside for the rest of his life.

The religious divisions which existed in the principality, at the period of his arrival at Lampeter, occasioned considerable regret to the admirers of our venerable hierarchy, and to the lovers of decency and order, and to none more so than himself. He had discovered to his sorrow that the established church

had lost much of her popularity, and that a violent spirit of opposition was gaining ground, especially among that denomination of Christians called the Calvinistic Methodists, who constitute, by far, the largest sect in Wales, but of whom, however, it is only justice to acknowledge that, at the present day, they are actuated by a far more friendly feeling. They were considered, it is well known, as part of the established church for many years after their first dissent from it;* and none except episcopally ordained ministers performed the sacred functions of the priestly office throughout, and administered the sacraments. But, like every other democratical body, not being satisfied with the power they already possessed, they coveted more, until their desire of having lay-preachers, ordained after the manner of English dissenters, was gratified: hence their defection from the mother church. The limits of this memoir will not allow of a minute inquiry into the subject; but it may be briefly remarked that, had our spiritual rulers given more encouragement to pious ministers, and had they pursued more conciliatory measures towards those men, whose only crime (if we may except, perhaps, a few minor irregularities in the forms of ecclesiastical discipline, which might easily have been controlled), was a deadness to the world and a devotedness to their sacred functions, we should not have now to mourn over the

* See "Life of Charles, by the Rev. E. Morgan," p. 357.

prevalence of schism, or the emptiness of many of our venerable churches.

This new order of things is thus alluded to, by my father, in a letter to his brother, dated December 24, 1810 :—

“A great change is likely to take place among the Methodists in this part of the country. It is said that it was decided at the last association held in Swansea, that Ebenezer Morris, and some of the most ambitious among the lay-preachers, should be ordained in the dissenting way, and qualified to administer the sacraments. This has given great offence to the old Methodists most attached to the church, who, upon this bold new measure, have threatened to leave the connection, and return to the church. Hughes has left them already, and has been with the bishop, who has decided on receiving him back into the true fold, and giving him a curacy, provided he can get his testimonials signed, which half a dozen of the neighbouring clergy and myself very readily did sign; and, be assured, we are not a little pleased to encourage the wandering sons of the church to return once more to the bosom of their ecclesiastical mother. It is expected that Williams of Lledrod, will follow the example so properly set him by his neighbour and fellow-wanderer, Hughes. Nathaniel Rowlands is also very desirous of retracing his steps, if a small living, or an eligible curacy in this neighbourhood, could be procured for him. In short, if the bishops were to

avail themselves properly of this schism among the sectaries, I believe that thousands, both in North and South Wales, might be restored from among the common people who have been led astray ; and most of the stray clergy would gladly ‘ground arms,’ and change sides again, if they were well received and leniently treated. For I hear that the new self-created ministers begin to assume considerable authority, and treat their brethren of the clergy with great tyranny. It is much to be regretted that our bishops are strangers to the country, and know so little of its temper and disposition ; otherwise schisms of this nature might be prevented, or easily repressed when they occur.”

My father deeply lamented these things. He saw what, in that body, formed the ground of attachment on the part of the hearers, at the same time that he was not insensible to the deficiencies of himself and his brother clergymen. He perceived that with ignorance and outrageous rant in the former, there were often mixed up a rude intellectual strength, and perhaps a freshness of thought ; that from the periodical publications of the day the preachers were gleaning a species of knowledge, by the aid of which they gave a peculiar character of interest to their addresses : and that, in fact, they were thoroughly acquainted with the style of language, the tone of sentiment, and the kind of argument by which, in such congregations as are furnished by most districts of the principality, Christian truths were best conveyed

to the heart. He was aware that the mode of preaching adopted by the latter, especially by those of them who had been educated in England, was too calm and unimpassioned ; that their discourses were too logical and scholastic ; that they aimed at guiding the reason when they ought to be appealing to the affections, as if they had forgotten that the sun warms while it enlightens ; that the majority of the clergy conceived that they were bound to confine themselves to mere formalities, while they were sinking into an apathy ; and that there was a want of that community of feeling which ought ever to subsist between a pastor and his people—a people too, in the present case, whose minds were now sufficiently informed to distinguish between the bread of life and the husks of vain philosophy.

My father, thus witnessing in sorrow the state of the church, resolved to employ all the energies that he could command in changing the current of affairs. The bishop, being totally unacquainted, at this period at least, with the language of the country, and consequently with the character of the inhabitants, did not view things under the same aspect. Here was a mighty obstacle ; and as his lordship was obliged to draw his conclusions from the statements of others, rather than from his own personal observation, as is the case with many bishops similarly situated, it was no trifling privilege to have so near his person an individual who possessed a discriminating judgment, together with a thorough know-

ledge of the peculiarities and requirements of the people, and a manly disposition which prompted him fearlessly to say what he thought. Some changes were proposed in the mode of ecclesiastical discipline ; but the bishop apprehended, and not without reason, that it was forming a dangerous precedent ; that by once breaking down the barriers which encircled the church, an entrance would be afforded to the experiments of rash and heedless projectors, and on this ground he deferred giving his assent. My father, on the other hand, though as jealous of innovations as his lordship, argued, that as a matter of expediency, something must be done to save the existence of the church ; that desperate remedies should be applied to desperate cases ; that the projects contemplated might be carried into effect without any compromise of principle. At last many of the proposed plans were adopted ; and, as the result, never have the features of a diocese been more essentially improved.

But it was not so much an organic change as the relaxation, the softening of a system which Dr. Burgess had laid down on his appointment to the see. It may reasonably be believed that some of the visitation sermons which my father preached before the bishop and clergy, and which were afterwards published, contributed in no small degree to effect this alteration in his lordship's sentiments.

Among the newly adopted plans, a monthly meeting of the clergy, held in rotation in the parishes of the different sub-deaneries, may be regarded as

by no means the least interesting or the least important. Though, unquestionably, such interviews among persons engaged in the same labour of love, could not fail to be an abundant source of pleasure, social enjoyment was not their primary object. Wherever associations of this nature have been established upon the same principle, they have proved eminently useful. One excellent result has been a more intimate union among the clergy. In the minds of the people too, a deeper concern has been awakened for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the church. The junior clergy also have had opportunities of listening to the discourses of their seniors. These advantages in many dioceses are not frequently enjoyed; but the writer does not despair of seeing the day when such associations will be held throughout the principality, and when the bishops themselves may regard it as by no means inconsistent with their exalted station to encourage them even with their presence. Who will hesitate to acknowledge that this would be in strict accordance with the theory and doctrines of the church, and greatly profitable to her children?

Another of the proposed alterations affected the services of the church. The Welsh Common Prayer Book had long been thought, by many distinguished Welsh scholars, to require revision. It appeared to them to want that beauty and simplicity of style by which the original is so strikingly characterized. My father, with all his dislike of precipitate and

useless changes, concurred in the general opinion, and strongly recommended it. He was an ardent admirer of the Liturgy. He was of opinion that in simple grandeur and beauty, it is not only unequalled, but unapproached by any other human composition in the world; at the same time he could not fail to perceive that much of its excellence was lost to his countrymen, by the imperfect nature of the form under which it was presented to them in the Welsh translation.* It was this alone that incited him to venture upon such a proposition. A new edition with corrections and amendments had been published, under the superintendence of the Welsh clergy, and with the sanction of the bishops of Hereford, St. Asaph, Bangor, and St. David's, in the year 1710. Under similar auspices, two editions, considered until then to be perfect, had been issued in the years 1664 and 1668. He therefore argued that there was no want of a precedent, and that a new edition was now required by the times; especially as the object was neither to amplify nor to abridge, but to strike out certain terms and expressions that had become obsolete, and to substitute

* The clergy of the principality have much reason to complain of the Forms of Prayer on particular occasions that have, of late years, been forwarded to them. In many instances the officiating ministers have been under the necessity of themselves translating them from the English, in order to render them intelligible to their several flocks. Surely it is but fitting that those who have the direction of these matters should appoint a person properly qualified for the office of translator.

others more in accordance with the progressive intelligence and improving taste of the people. Some impediments were needlessly thrown in the way, and the design fell to the ground. Happily, the subject has since been revived by some active friends of the church, who thoroughly understand the language, and have succeeded in gaining the consent of the bishops of the principality to another revision. The undertaking is doubtless a work of difficulty. May the talented individuals, who have engaged in it, be directed by Him with whom is the fountain of light and wisdom, who is the giver of all good, and without whom Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but there can be no increase !

Although my father could not but observe the disadvantages under which the establishment laboured—as, alas ! it still continues to labour,—disadvantages highly injurious to its interests, such as the wide extent of parishes, the dilapidated state of sacred buildings, and the poverty of the benefices—yet he hoped that it might be in his power to assist in checking the prevalent spirit of defection, and in contributing to the efficiency of the ecclesiastical machinery, by a strict vigilance over the education of those young persons who were entrusted to his care. His plan was, after having for the first five years led candidates for holy orders through several of the classics, and through a course of general literature, to direct them to the study of theology. The principal books which he put into their hands were

the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament, in the original languages ; the Christian Fathers, Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, Burnet de Fide et Officiis Christianorum, Clericus de Eligendâ Sententiâ, Jewell's Apologia, Nicholl's Defensio Eccl. Angl., Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Pearson on the Creed, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and such other works as their diocesan recommended. This furnished them with occupation for the last two or three years of the period during which they had the benefit of his tuition. It was his especial solicitude not only that they should acquire a habit of expressing their ideas upon paper with facility, but that they should devote a portion of their time to the study of rhetoric, and to a graceful and effective elocution in their native tongue. With this view, he exercised them in composition, and in the art of committing what they wrote to memory. Most of the young candidates thus attained a fluency of utterance, an accurate mode of expression, and an unhesitating confidence of manner, that in the end amply compensated them for all the labour to which they had been obliged to submit. Not a few of them have risen to distinguished eminence as preachers, and have been remarkable for their readiness in administering exhortation and comfort, as particular circumstances might require. In short, they have drawn together large congregations, and their admiring hearers have continued through life to be consistent and exemplary members of the church.

May the writer hope to be excused, if, without intending to draw invidious comparisons, he expresses his regret that a longer period of probation is not assigned to those candidates for holy orders who are brought up at the universities; as the difference between the occupation of a collegian and that of a pastor is so great, the transition from the one to the other is generally so sudden, and the evil consequences of this, at least in the northern parts of the principality, are so evident, that some additional provisions are loudly called for.* It would certainly be an advantage, if, after taking their degrees at the universities, candidates for the ministry were to pass through a second course of theological instruction, specifically calculated to prepare them for their sacred office. To this principle physicians and barristers are obliged to conform; and will it be denied that, if the importance of these professions demand it, the functions of the clergy are at least of equal moment? An institution might be established somewhat similar to that at Lampeter, or to that at St. Bees, but on a smaller scale, and on the plan proposed by the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, † where the students might devote themselves solely to the study of theology, and of the Welsh language, and to what is equally important, a knowledge of the practical parts of their future duty, in order that their

* Some important remarks on this subject may be found in "Bridges' Christian Ministry," p. 90.

† Late of Sedgley, now of Alderley.

minds may be impressed, as they ought to be, with a sense of the awful responsibilities attached to the office of a "worker together with God." This plan might be pursued under the guidance of the masters of the institution, or under the superintendence of some of the most zealous and devout among the neighbouring clergy, who in their parochial ministrations would gladly avail themselves now and then of the assistance of these young men. Perhaps if such a scheme were generally adopted throughout England, as well as in Wales, there would be less need of the "Pastoral Aid Society," to which objections, many of them frivolous indeed, have lately been raised by sticklers for austere rules and rigid technicalities. It may be here remarked that the excellent Dr. Middleton's plan was analogous to this. Finding that the toil of years for the diffusion of Christianity in India had been all but ineffectual, he established at Calcutta the institution appropriately called Bishop's College, for the purpose of receiving aboriginal students, and of qualifying them for propagating the gospel in the dialects of the country.

My father was also zealous in promoting schools for the lower classes of society, especially when they were founded upon Christian principles, and conducted in conformity with the doctrines and discipline of the established church. Upon this subject he wrote an essay, the greater part of which has been destroyed or lost. He seems strenuously to have recommended the formation of parochial schools

similar to those which had been productive of such admirable effects in Scotland. The funds for their support, he conceived, might without much difficulty be raised from the landowners, the lay improprators, and the clergy. In his estimation, to withhold the benefits of instruction from the humble tenants of the vale, is a miserable requital of the obligations which we owe to the illustrious reformers of the protestant church, and indeed a most fearful neglect of duty.

Among the various important institutions of those days, calculated to raise the moral and intellectual condition of the country, there were none of which my father thought more highly than the Circulating Welsh Charity Schools.* They were originally projected by the Rev. Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, and were afterwards successfully conducted by him and by that eminently pious and munificent lady, Madam Bevan of Laugharne.

The system, in my father's judgment, was signally adapted to the taste and to the wants of the Welsh people. In these schools the English language was not exclusively taught, and instruction was given with an especial view to the discipline of the mind and

* Into these truly Christian schools were admitted adults, even individuals of sixty or seventy years of age, who had they not been instructed there in the principles of the gospel, would in all probability have perished in their ignorance. At Mr. Jones's death, there were three thousand of these schools, and there were in them no fewer than one hundred and fifty-six thousand two hundred and thirty-seven scholars.

to the formation of the character. Such of the scholars as were natives of the principality learned to read the sacred volume, and religious books of high reputation, in the Welsh language. Where there was a mixture of Welsh and English scholars, masters competent to teach both languages were employed. The children twice a day received instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, the church catechism being used as a text book, aided by scriptural expositions, compiled and published for the purpose. While the masters and the visiting clergy inculcated the conscientious discharge of every duty, they did not forget to begin and conclude the business of each day with praise and prayer.

As to one point in the management of these schools, the bishop and my father were again unfortunately at issue. His lordship felt anxious, as was certainly very natural, that the schools should be organized on a plan that would tend to the ultimate extinction of a language of which he himself was ignorant; while my father, being, as we have already seen, thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances and habits of the flock under his care, knew by experience that the people were not able to receive religious instruction in any other tongue, and that to persist in such a scheme would drive away the church members that yet remained. It was the happiness, however, of Dr. Burgess to be, as has been already remarked, surrounded by men who well understood what measures would be most conducive to the spiri-

tual welfare of their countrymen, and being always open to conviction, he saw reason, at length, to alter his opinion on this subject as well as on many others connected with the duties of his diocese. In order to give more effect to his administrations, he began in earnest to learn the language of the country. But although by this step he obtained a clearer insight into the character, and became better acquainted with the wishes of the people, his progress was not so rapid as it unquestionably would have been if he had devoted himself to it at an earlier period of his life. At the same time he saw the expediency of relying less, not only on his own judgment, but also on that of the English portion of his clergy, who had hitherto principally guided him. This wise and judicious course was fraught with blessings to the principality, as the increased and the still increasing prosperity of the church in South Wales sufficiently testifies. That he deeply felt how important it was for him to understand the language of the diocese which he superintended is well known. An amusing anecdote may shew with what assiduity he pursued his new employment. One day when my father had occasion to call at the palace, he was ushered into the library, where he found the bishop seated at a table, deeply engaged in turning over the leaves of some ponderous volume. His lordship received him with his usual courtesy, and said he was especially happy to see him at that precise moment, as he had been much puzzled by a word which a

child, then playing in the room, had used.* He had searched his dictionaries for it in vain. He said the little girl was balancing herself on a chair, and while in that position she exclaimed "*twmpo, twmpo*," twice or three times. My father observed, that it was evident that the child was in danger of tumbling down, and was anxious that his lordship should assist her; and that the word was *cwympo*, which signifies *falling*, or *I am falling*. Thus was the difficulty explained.

A splendid catalogue might be made of men who, having been born in cottages, and nurtured through their infant years in the bosom of obscurity, have afterwards singularly enlightened and blessed the world, and who have been indebted to the kind hand of charity for rescuing them from their low estate, and bringing out their talents to the day. More there might have been—

" But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll :
Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul."

After all, such cases must be comparatively rare; for only a few individuals are destined to arrive at great eminence. Every day's observation, however, will tell us that such unpretending institutions as my father was desirous of establishing, have sent forth multitudes whose conduct, in their respective spheres,

* She had been adopted by Dr. Burgess.

has been marked by integrity and usefulness. These schools indeed may be considered as among the most effectual securities that can be devised for the peace and well being of the community. Those habits which are too often the disgrace and ruin of the lower classes, result in no small degree from the ignorance and idleness in which they have spent their earliest years, and from their exposure, as they advance in life, to the polluting example of associates who have been equally neglected with themselves. In proportion as the number of these is lessened, as the young are withdrawn from this idleness, and accustomed to a diligent application of their mental powers in the acquisition of elementary knowledge—in the same ratio will temptation lose its influence, and the motives to sobriety and godliness be strengthened and multiplied.

If any one can for a moment imagine that education has but little influence on the virtue and happiness of man, let him read the annals of human depravity, mark the proceedings in our courts of criminal justice, or listen to the transgressor's melancholy tale, as he falls a victim, in the midst of his career, to the laws which he has insulted and set at nought. It will be found that of those unhappy individuals who have been guilty of the most atrocious offences, few have enjoyed the blessings of instruction, even at the humblest of our schools, and the great majority have grown up in total ignorance of all which it is most important for a rational and

dying creature to understand. The fact has been ascertained from actual and repeated inquiry. It is knowledge that must be the grand instrument of reformation ; and till religion, the religion of the gospel, goes hand in hand in this noblest of causes, it can never be accomplished. "To enlarge the mind," says an eminent writer, "merely to impart information, and to awaken the dormant consciousness of power, without, at the same time, furnishing a guide and director to that knowledge and that power, in the knowledge of the principles of true religion, would tend to ruin those entrusted to our care." We should, under no circumstances, countenance a plan of education that is to exclude religious instruction, and that is to be independent of the ministers of our church, who are the natural and proper guardians of the education of the great mass of the people. It is with no inconsiderable gratification that the friends of Christianity witness those fresh motives to exertion which are now infused into the "National Society," by the aristocracy and clergy of the country. They have reason to rejoice that a board of management, for the extension and improvement of national education, is formed in most of the English dioceses. May these labours of mercy be blessed with that guidance from above which is so essential to success !

Yet it cannot escape the notice of a careful observer, that even where schools are ostensibly conducted on scriptural principles, instruction is not

always so given as most effectually to discipline the mind and form the character. The understanding is cultivated, while the heart is left untouched. Knowledge is imparted, but the scholar is not taught how he may turn it to practical account. This evil is nowhere more perceptible than in the principality; and there can be little doubt that the employment of a language which the children do not understand, or at least in which they do not commonly converse, and which they do not use in their religious exercises, operates powerfully as a disadvantage to the cause of a sound moral education, and, in consequence to the prosperity of the Welsh church. It is too well known to those who are in circumstances to witness the fact, and it is with deep concern that the writer is constrained to acknowledge it, that four-fifths of the children who have been brought up in our national schools in Wales, however excellent the institution, and however well the system may work elsewhere, desert their foster mother, and when they have attained the age of maturity, unite themselves to other religious communities. To what can we attribute this but to the exclusive system which is carried on in seminaries where the scholars are instructed in the mechanical part of the rudiments of learning, and in the theory of religion, while the practical and more essential portion, which is to influence their conduct through life, is left to those who can enter into their feelings, and are able to converse with them intelligibly in their native tongue. Hence it is

that they are prevailed upon to enrol themselves under other religious teachers, who, by oral addresses, and by unceasing attention to the spiritual wants of their hearers, seldom fail to inspire them with a glowing and deep attachment to the principles of dissent.

It is fervently hoped that this subject will receive the attention which it deserves from those who have power to supply a remedy. The writer is aware that by these suggestions he may be incurring the displeasure of some of his brother clergymen, for whose learning and moral rectitude he entertains the highest respect; but they are the sentiments of his heart, and he entertains them in common with many of his countrymen, whose object, like his own, is not to encourage "local and provincial jealousies and dislikes," but to advance the real good of their country, and to secure the well-being and permanency of its church.

While my father was thus busily engaged, it pleased the Great Disposer of events to visit him with a trial that bowed his very spirit to the earth. His beloved wife, his heart, and his heart's joy, was snatched from him a few days after she had given birth to a son. Her death presented indeed a solemn scene; she had a foreboding of the awful event, and as it drew near, she spoke of it to those around her in a tone of resignation, and even of cheerfulness. On the morning of the 25th December 1811, having consigned her "dear babes" with earnest solicitude to the care

of the most confidential of her domestics, she calmly breathed out her soul into the hands of Him who, as on that day, came down from heaven to purchase for her, and for all who, like her, shall believe and obey, a never ending life of blessedness and glory.

To my father it was, in truth, a heavy, a paralyzing blow ; he felt it with a poignancy of grief, of which none but kindred sorrowers are able to conceive. As soon as his mind was sufficiently composed, his children, some of whom, in the first hurry of that melancholy catastrophe, had been taken away by a kind neighbour, were assembled together in his room, where, by a tender appeal, he endeavoured to impress upon them, as far as they could apprehend it, a sense of the irreparable loss which they had sustained ; of the undoubted wisdom and righteousness of God's inscrutable decrees ; and of the necessity of pouring out their prayers, that the calamity might be sanctified to their everlasting good. They all then knelt down, and it was a moving sight to behold the heart-stricken anguished father, and his weeping children, thus with uplifted hands, "acknowledging the rod, and Him who appointed it." Time is scarcely less a comforter than an instructor ; but never will the awful solemnity of that hour be forgotten.

"Thus many a sad to-morrow came and went,
Till, all my stock of infant sorrow spent,
I learn'd at last submission to my lot ;
But though I less deplored thee, ne'er forgot."

In the name of mother there is something that is not of this world, something that may claim alliance with the skies. He who can think on her who gave him birth, he who can call to mind the fond and watchful eye, the tender look, the sweet benignant smile, the constant flow of love, and remember them without a veneration beyond all common feeling, is fit only for the deepest shades of darkness, and the dreary solitude of the desert. "Shew me a man, says an elegant writer,* "though his brow be furrowed, and his hair grey, who has forgotten his mother, and I shall suspect that his memory is impaired, or that a hard heart is beating in his bosom." This excellent woman instructed her children, while her husband attended to the duties of his school, and whenever his presence was required at the sick bed of any of his parishioners, she was not backward in administering to their temporal wants. In order, the more effectually to perform her task of love, she studied the Welsh language, an example well worthy of being followed by all who are similarly circumstanced, and had she lived she would have found the acquisition a great convenience to herself, as well as an eminent advantage to others. But her usefulness was not confined to domestic and parochial affairs; she even gave her assistance in conducting the business of the school.

Wherever a turn for drawing was discovered

* Washington Irving.

amongst the pupils, for she possessed considerable talent herself as an artist, she seized the first opportunity of endeavouring to foster it, by her advice, by her valuable suggestions, and by every encouragement that she could give. Being also a proficient in music, she laboured diligently to promote in the young people a love of that delightful science. A certain number of the day-scholars were invited in rotation to the house once a week, for the purpose of exercising their vocal powers, while she accompanied them on the pianoforte. It is perhaps to this circumstance that the attainments which many of them subsequently made in psalmody* are to be ascribed. In short she was never idle ; in every thing that related to the intellectual and moral welfare of those around her, she felt a generous concern. And when we advert to the scenes in which she passed her earliest years ; when we consider how different were the circles in which she had been accustomed to move ; how attractively the fascinations of the world had spread themselves before her,—we cannot but admire the steadiness with which she undertook the discharge of duties so noiseless and unobtrusive ; or rather we cannot fail to muse in holy wonder over the power of that grace which could enable her to withdraw her heart from earthly shadows, and to fix them upon the realities of an eternal world. Her children

* These young men conducted the psalmody in Lampeter church, and several of them afterwards received premiums awarded for proficiency in psalmody, by the Diocesan Society.

were taken to church at a very early age, and it was her care by the solemnity of her countenance and the seasonableness of her gentle reproofs to awe them into a becoming seriousness of behaviour. The only instance which occurs to the writer of her gravity having been disturbed in such a place, was when one of her little boys perched himself upon a seat of the family pew, and lustily chaunted, to the no small dismay of the congregation, the well known lines of Master Newbury :

“ Little Tommy Tucker sung for his supper,
How shall he cut it without e’er a knife ?
What shall he have ? White bread and butter.
How shall he marry without e’er a wife ?”

In public and in private, in her daily conversation and in the unpretending virtues of an exemplary life, she adorned her Christian profession ; while she was one of the kindest of wives, and the most indulgent, the most judicious, and the best of mothers. At the time when it pleased God to take her to her heavenly rest the writer was young and thoughtless ; such, however, were the tenderness and affection with which she blessed his childhood, that, before he loses the impression which they made upon his heart, that heart must have ceased to beat. Here, then, let him drop a tear ; and if he have said too much he hopes to be forgiven, since he has been speaking of his first, his gentlest earthly friend, whom to remember is to revive the recollection of ten thousand nameless kind-

nesses, never to be repaid, and never, never to be forgotten.

Her removal from the scene which she adorned and gladdened was thus noticed in the obituaries of that year: "On the 25th inst. at Lampeter, Cardigan-shire, Jane Nugent Amelia, daughter of St. George Armstrong, Esq. of Annaduff, in the county of Leitrim, and wife of the Rev. Eliezer Williams, M.A., vicar of Lampeter, &c. A lady whose attention to the sick, beneficence to the poor, and kindness and affability to all, rendered her universally respected and beloved during her life, and regretted and sincerely lamented at her death; while her amiable disposition, her sincere piety, and her apparently confident hope of divine mercy, gave every reason to believe, that her dissolution, which was the cause of grief and sorrow to others, was an occasion of joy and triumph to herself."

It has been already observed that one of the objects of the Diocesan Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union, in the diocese of St. David's, was to provide the means of education for young men who were designed for the ministry of the church of England. Although much classical and theological learning might be acquired in the principal schools, the bishop thought that it would be beneficial to the church in Wales, if candidates for holy orders—who had not within their reach the advantages of a university education, and who were often obliged to undertake the humblest offices of

tuition before they had completed their own preparatory course—could be enabled to employ themselves in studies more comprehensive, as well as in a manner more suitable to the dignity of the clerical profession.

The loss of St. Mary's College at St. David's, and of the Colleges at Abergwilly and Llanddewi Brefi, was highly detrimental to the established church in that diocese. The distance of the diocese from the English universities, and the poverty of most of its benefices, placed an education at either of those seats of learning out of the reach of the greater number of candidates for the Christian ministry. This loss was inadequately compensated for by the Collegiate Institution at Brecon. It was therefore suggested that there ought to be, at the least, one establishment for the appropriate education of candidates for the Christian ministry. In order to accomplish this a fund was formed, towards which each incumbent contributed a tenth of one year's income from his benefice. As a beginning the bishop himself put down the sum of £120, a proportionate part of the revenues of his see; and ultimately his Majesty George IV., the English Universities, the lords of the manor, and various other benevolent persons, contributed with great liberality to the undertaking. Thus was the project conceived of founding the noble institution which has since been designated St. David's College; an institution, let it be added, which is conferring incalculable benefit, not only upon that portion of

the principality, but upon the nation at large. In the first instance it was proposed at a meeting of the rural deans in the summer of 1806, merely to build lodging rooms at Ystradmeurig for the students. It appears that local difficulties presented themselves, which rendered the situation not so convenient as might have been wished. These difficulties induced the society to direct their thoughts to Llanddewi Brefi.

The parish of Llanddewi Brefi is part of a manor belonging to the bishop of St. David's; and Dr. Burgess was willing to grant to the Society ground enough for the requisite buildings, garden, &c. Llanddewi Brefi also recommended itself by its seclusion; by its vicinity to some of the bishop's best patronage, which might serve as a reward to the fidelity and zeal of the professors; by its spacious church, which was large enough to accommodate a numerous society; by its convenience for stone, fuel, &c.; and for its healthy situation.

My father's school, however, soon rose to great eminence: and this circumstance was mainly instrumental in leading the bishop and his coadjutors to fix upon Lampeter as more desirable; and accordingly in that previously neglected town was raised, from designs by Mr. Cockerell, one of the most handsome buildings to be found in Britain. In the year 1823 the foundation stone was laid by the venerable bishop of St. David's, an epoch in the history of Wales to which my father had often with

pleasure looked forward, but which he was never destined to see. In a letter to his brother, dated December 14, 1808, he says, "Our projected college is still in 'statu quo,' though considerable sums of money have been collected for it." It was about the same period that my father was occupied in writing an essay on the choice of masters for this institution; but whether it ever appeared before the public, or was even finished, is now difficult to discover. He begins with shewing the importance of such institutions to the cause of piety and learning, and more especially to the interests of the Welsh church, when professors are judiciously and carefully selected. Experience has shewn that where the reputation of such teachers, as scholars and as Christians, has been high, they have formed a university in a desert, while presidents of an opposite character have created a desert in a university. Nothing tends more to ensure success to a literary establishment than the choice of competent masters. As no success or glory could be expected from an army, how distinguished soever the soldiers might be for individual courage, unless it were disciplined by able and experienced officers; so a literary institution, however elegant its structure, or rich its endowments, can never flourish without a wise selection of teachers. A correct and critical acquaintance with the language of the country would be an indispensable qualification for so important an office in such an institution; and there would be this additional advantage in selecting

professors from among the inhabitants of Wales, that it would be easy to remunerate them for their services, by bestowing upon them preferments in the neighbourhood, which they might hold together with their professorships. My father was fully persuaded that if the intended college at Llanddewi Brefi were organized as it ought to be, it would prove the salvation of the Welsh church, and be instrumental in recalling the sheep that were dispersed abroad into Christ's true fold.

In allusion to the period of which we are now speaking, Mrs. Hannah More says : "The excellent bishop of St. David's is perhaps doing more for the intellectual and spiritual good of his fellow creatures than almost any of his contemporaries. He has undertaken the Herculean task of raising the tone and morals, learning and piety of a large Welsh diocese, to which he gives all his time, and a large portion of his income."

On another occasion, this truly eminent writer observes : "St. David's College will be an era in the history of Wales ; and I hope it will raise the tone both of literature and of piety in their clergy."

This is a well merited encomium, for no bishop ever contributed more to the prosperity of a see than Dr. Burgess. The licensed grammar schools, if we except two or three of them, were not celebrated either for the erudition of the superintendents, or for the proficiency of the scholars ; nor was the character of the clergy, generally speaking, such as to secure

to the church, in which they ministered, a very exalted reputation. It is true there were some among them whose names will be cherished with veneration and love to the remotest time. But the English bishops had, for the most part, appointed to livings strangers who were ignorant of the language of the country, or who had scarcely made themselves masters even of the art of reading it; who satisfied themselves with visiting their incumbencies once or twice a year, for the purpose of receiving their tithes; and who thought their hard-working curates amply recompensed with an annual salary of £30 or £40. Preferments were bestowed upon men of the world, while zealous and faithful ambassadors of the cross, the only individuals who kept the established church from entire extinction, were looked upon with a suspicious eye, branded with the name of Methodists, and altogether neglected, if they were happy enough to escape persecution. A signal change, however, soon took place after the appointment of Dr. Burgess. The character of the grammar schools was raised; premiums, from benefactions to the fund for clerical education, were awarded both to the clergy and to the scholars: to the former for dissertations on given subjects; to the latter for attainments in the classics, theology, psalmody, Hebrew caligraphy, and elocution. Clerical meetings were established, at which appropriate sermons were preached every month in each archdeaconry, for the purpose of promoting Christian knowledge and church union. In short, so

successful were the exertions of the excellent bishop, and of those who co-operated with him, that, in the space of a few years, the church became as flourishing in South Wales as in any part of Great Britain.

Amidst these his daily occupations my father's sympathetic feelings were again powerfully exercised by the death of his mother-in-law Mrs. Armstrong. The melancholy event took place in Dublin, whither she had gone only a few weeks before from Wales. The following paragraph appeared in the obituary of an Irish paper : "Died on the 17th of September, 1813, in Dorset-street, Dublin, Frances Charlotte, the Lady of St. George Armstrong, Esq. of Annaduff, in the county of Leitrim, and third daughter of James Nugent, Esq. of Carlanstown, in the county of Westmeath. She was descended from the earls of Westmeath, and was first-cousin to the late Marchioness of Buckingham.* Mrs. Armstrong was in her youth celebrated for her beauty, her elegance, and her accomplishments ; and through the whole of life for her charity, her piety, her virtuous and exemplary conduct, and in particular, for her sincere attachment to the established church ; while during her last protracted illness, she displayed Christian resignation and a patient submission to the Divine will."

* Mary Elizabeth Grenville Nugent Temple, only daughter and heiress of Robert Nugent, who was son of Michael Nugent, of Carlanstown, Esq., and was created Viscount Clare and Baron Nugent in 1766, and Earl Nugent in 1776. She was mother of the late, and grandmother of the present, Duke of Buckingham.

My father wrote an acrostic on her death, which was inserted in one of the newspapers of the day.

About this time a Welsh journal called the 'Seren Gomer' made its appearance. It was patronized by the Independents and the Baptists, and one of its leading features was an uncompromising hostility to the established church. However fully my father was occupied, it was not a little that could have prevented him from standing forth to resist these attacks. "I send you," says he to his brother (Feb. 21st, 1814), "by this day's post, a Welsh paper called the 'Seren Gomer.' I differ from many of my brother clergymen, who are of opinion that the publication should in no way be encouraged; for as we cannot prevent its being circulated, and as it is in sectarian and democratic hands, I think every friend of the establishment ought to watch it with a jealous eye, and contribute something occasionally towards occupying its columns with useful and edifying matter. In the accompanying number you will find a contribution of mine on Welsh orthography, which I wrote for the purpose of counteracting the present absurd rage for innovation in that branch of Welsh literature. It is a letter addressed to 'Idris Fechan,' and signed E. There is also an ode on the twenty-four Welsh measures. The intention is to gain some influence with the editors, so that what I may write on more important subjects may be received with greater attention. I should feel obliged if you could prevail upon some judicious, able hand, Dafydd

Ddu, for instance, to examine the article critically, and let me know its defects, that such compositions may be more correct in future, as I have not had time, of late, to exercise my pen in Welsh poetry."

A fortnight after he again writes: "I did not send you the Welsh composition for the sake of drawing forth a compliment, but in order to ascertain what might be its faults, as I wish to be accurate in 'Barddoniaeth;' and there is a nest of sectarians and republicans in Glamorganshire, and even in this vicinity, who make use of such a weapon to do mischief. I am anxious to be able to wield this instrument as well as they, so as to be capable of defending the establishment, the government, and myself, when necessary."

Until this period my father had, for many years, suffered his talent as a Welsh poet to lie unemployed; and when he resumed his pen, he was so fully occupied with more important duties, that he could not devote to the muse the attention which that species of composition so much requires. Hence the occasional marks of haste and carelessness with which some of his first effusions in the 'Seren Gomer' are justly chargeable, and of which, as appears from a letter to his brother, he found that his quick-sighted opponents were glad to take advantage.

"Some hypercritics in the Seren Gomer," he observes, "have been anatomizing my translation of 'Vital Spark,' and have dwelt with considerable ill nature on a few slips of my pen. A reply was made

to the critique, and the lines were sent for insertion in a corrected form. But the editors declined admitting them. I must, therefore, forward them to you, and request you will be good enough to have them printed in the 'North Wales Gazette.' In the meanwhile, for the purpose of recovering my character, you must endeavour to prevail upon Dafydd Ddu to look over the enclosed ode of 'Praise to the Supreme Being,' and return it to me as soon as possible. Assure him of my warmest thanks; and with my kindest remembrances tell him that I have taken the liberty of trying his patience once more, and that I hope he will act the part of Aristarchus a little longer, until my poetical productions may challenge the utmost malice of the Zoili, who have been thus so unsparingly venting their spleen against me. You know my time for this kind of composition is very limited, otherwise I flatter myself that such *rude carvers* would have somewhat less employment for the dissecting knife."

March 7th, 1814.

The circumstances of this critique are further illustrated in a letter addressed by an eminent Welsh scholar to the present writer :*— "Your excellent father had published some poems in the *Mesurau Caethion* in the 'Seren Gomer,' on its first appear-

* Rev. Daniel Evans, M. A. (Daniel Ddu) Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.

rance as a newspaper, and they were attacked by some of the writers of the day in a very respectful, though rather bitter tone. Upon this E. o Lanbedr* consulted the best grammars containing the rules of Welsh bardism, and by his quick and penetrating powers of intellect, acquired a nicety of writing that was always conspicuous whenever he took the necessary pains. The Welsh *canghenedd* is governed by rules requiring much study and labour, which his daily round of occupation prevented him from at all times bestowing. It is a fact, that he would in two or three nights compose a poem that would take any other bard a week or fortnight to complete. But when he had time there were few more able writers : for example, his elegy on the death of Sir Thomas Picton,† which is worthy of him as a scholar, and is as beautiful a piece of composition as any in the British language.

“ His was a gigantic mind, but it was a thousand pities to see it so shackled by the profession of a schoolmaster. He was a truly zealous minister, always in the habit, at least latterly, of composing two sermons each week, and taking much pains with them : he was a deeply learned divine, a classical and Welsh scholar ; a most patient, and therefore successful, teacher of youth, manifesting a kindness equal to the affection of a parent. I hope you will

* My father's assumed name.

† This was afterwards set to music, and was translated by my father into English elegiac verse.

give all his pupils the credit due to them of being most anxious to testify in every manner the high regard and veneration they entertain for his memory."

It was now that a restless spirit of innovation was beginning to be fashionable. Every department in law, physic, and divinity, seemed to be infected with it. Even the ancient British language partook of its influence. Some individuals, whose attachment to the land of their nativity is unquestionable, whatever opinion we may form of their judgment, conceived an idea of introducing into the Welsh tongue a new system of orthography. They proposed that the 'genius' of the language should be assumed as the only standard by which to examine the different modes of spelling the same word, and that that spelling should be adopted which might appear to be most consistent with the etymology and pronunciation. This they held up as the only plan by which uniformity could be attained. Capricious and uncouth changes had been perpetrated by a Welsh scholar of great eminence, and subsequently he and his brother philologists attempted to proceed still further. It was this spirit of innovation that my father so powerfully combated. In his opinion such changes were merely fanciful; he thought that they were altogether unnecessary; that they would disfigure the language, and ultimately affect the pronunciation of it. The editions of the sacred volume, published respectively by Bishop Mor-

gan * and Bishop Parry,† he looked upon as the only criterion by which the orthography should be determined. ‘Idris Fechan,’ ‘Llywelyn,’ ‘Hirael Haiarn Hir,’ and ‘Tegid,’ were some of those who entered the lists in favour of the new system. The subject was contested with fierce hostility. My father approved himself the stern, uncompromising opponent of these revolutionists. He encountered them with the intrepidity and skill of a well tried warrior, and did not retire from the battle-field until, in the judgment of many a disinterested spectator, he had shivered the lances of his adversaries into a thousand pieces. One of the foremost champions in this affray was the Rev. John Jones, M.A. ‘Tegid,’ Precentor of Christ Church, Oxford, who was then a very young man. My father, at first, mistaking him for an experienced writer of that time, ‘dealt blows at a pigmy that would have crushed an elephant.’ A distinguished bard of the present day, speaking of my father’s Welsh writings says: “His prose compositions, and among them his letters in controversy with ‘Tegid’ and others, are written in the same hasty manner, *currente calamo*, although they abound with classical allusions, with the purest wit, and with as elegant fancies as were ever published to the world. They have been read and admired by all who are ca-

* Bishop of Llandaff in 1595, translated to St. Asaph in 1601. He died at St. Asaph, in 1604.

† Bishop of St. Asaph, succeeding Dr. Morgan in 1604. He was assisted in revising the first edition of the Welsh Bible by Dr. John Davies, his chaplain.

pable of appreciating their beauties. Master 'Tegid' being only twenty, or twenty-one years of age at the time, was thought to possess a good share of arrogance in coping with him ; and he received the castigation which his temerity deserved. He was a mere mouse in the cat's paw."

It is but justice, however, to observe, that Mr. Jones displayed even then no inconsiderable acquaintance with the subject under discussion ; that not a few of the alterations which he suggested in the structure of the language, have been adopted by several writers of great respectability ; and that, hitherto at least, neither the pronunciation nor the appearance of the language has suffered from the change.

This controversy has since been revived by Mr. Jones and Mr. Bruce Knight ; and, although no particularly new feature has been given to the subject, it has excited much interest in the public mind.

In the midst of these discussions and literary labours, my father was called to mourn over the death of a beloved son, his youngest child, snatched from this earthly scene just as his mind was beginning to develope itself, and to awaken the most pleasing hopes. My father's feelings will be best described in his own words :—

"MY DEAR BROTHER, Lampeter, June 19, 1815.

I RECEIVED last week a very heavy blow. I had grown too fond of little Mark ; his quickness in body and mind, and his engaging disposition, had won upon my heart to a greater degree than ought, perhaps, to have

been permitted. He had been under medical treatment for the chicken pox, from which it was supposed he had recovered. On Monday, 29th May, he was at school as usual ; and after lessons, in order to amuse him, we went to see ' Sham Dick,'* and we had the old story told over again. He then walked with me over the farm, and chattered away with his usual vivacity. But he complained occasionally of the heat, and seemed to feel a greater difficulty than usual in keeping up with me, although he would not acknowledge being fatigued. He more than once exclaimed, ' O dear ! I am very warm, papa ! ' I at last saw that the poor little fellow looked rather pale, and that a cold perspiration was trickling down his cheeks. But, in order to divert his attention, I told him that it was always the case with fat and lazy people like himself. He then laughed, and said, that

* This alludes to the following anecdote : A favourite old horse, called ' Grey Dick,' was, one morning, found apparently dead in his stall, whence he was dragged to the stack-yard for the purpose of burial, the children looking on in solemn silence and grief. In the course of two or three hours, my father with little Mark visited the farm yard ; and while my father was occupied with the workmen, the child slipped off without being observed. A scream was soon heard. My father on running to the place, whence the cry seemed to issue, found Dick alive and grazing, and the little boy bleeding on the ground. It appeared that Mark ran off to take another farewell of the old pet, before he was consigned to his last resting place, and finding him alive, he was so transported with joy, that he went to pat and caress him. While he was thus testifying the pleasure that he felt, he received a kick which obliged him to cry out. The name of ' Grey Dick ' was afterwards changed into that of '*Sham Dick*.'

he was not very fat; but that his great coat was too heavy for him. ‘Indeed, papa,’ said he, with emphasis twice or three times, ‘I will not wear this great coat again.’ You know I am not superstitious; but these words proved truly prophetic, for he never wore it again. He was the following morning seized with an illness which turned out to be the scarlatina, and which carried him off in a fortnight. He died on Tuesday morning last, to the great regret of every one who knew him. He was a general favourite at school, and his death seems to have soberized the boys in a wonderful manner. He had his recollection to the last. He talked with me very sensibly, and caressed me in his usual affectionate way, about half an hour before his death. His remains were borne to the silent tomb by his brothers and schoolfellows, on Saturday last, amidst much weeping, and were laid beside his poor mother.

“I know that it is my duty to be resigned and submissive; but the feelings of the parent will sometimes rise in opposition to those of the Christian.

“I hope my sister and little Harry are well. May God long preserve them to you, and keep you from the troubles that assail me!

“I have just heard from David Thomas, by Owen, and intend to send an answer, should Owen return this way as he promised. I shall feel obliged to David Thomas, if he will look over my poem on the Crucifixion. I have not been able to pay to it that attention which so interesting a subject demands

Where there are two or three stanzas on the same measure, the worst may be omitted, if he should judge it expedient, but I leave it to him to decide. I have lost my relish for the Muses now. The surviving children are well, and desire their love to their uncle and aunt and cousin, in which I join.

“ Believe me to be ever, my dear brother, yours most affectionately,
“ E. WILLIAMS.”

P. S. These are anxious and stirring times. The fate of Buonaparte has been decided, I expect, ere this. We shall hear something further surely this week. How soon will many a tender wife have to lament the loss of a veteran husband, and a widowed mother to mourn the untimely death of a gallant son, in a foreign land ! Why then should I repine ?

—— has nearly recovered from his *last* * accident, an account of which you have already received, but his countenance is much disfigured. I am thankful that it was not attended with more serious consequences. My equanimity is sorely tried by such repeated disasters and afflictions.”

* The following extract explains this allusion : “ —— has lately met with a dreadful accident. He joined a squadron of his schoolfellows in an expedition for taking a rookery by storm, and as the stones, for want of balls, were flying about like hail, a large sharp-edged stone struck him between the eyes with such force, that it knocked him down, and slit the handle of his face as if done with a cutlass. He was brought home in a bleeding and almost senseless state, and has been above a fortnight under the surgeon’s hands. He is constantly getting into scrapes of

Notwithstanding my father's endeavours to bring his own will into a coincidence with that of the Great Disposer of events, it was impossible not to perceive that this stroke was more keenly felt than he chose to acknowledge. The sigh which occasionally escaped from his bosom betrayed his inability to subdue his inward emotions. And who can wonder? It was a trial of no common severity. The boy possessed a thousand good qualities to engage the heart. He was richly endowed by nature with her most attractive gifts; intelligent, dutiful, and affectionate; while blessed with health, revelling in all the thoughtless joys of childhood; and during the whole period of his painful illness so meekly submissive as scarcely to give utterance to a word of impatience or to the faintest murmur.

It was my father's habit, after school hours, to stroll over the farm with his happy children; and whoever might go with him, the youngest was never left behind. In order to preclude the possibility of being forgotten, the little fellow, before the customary hour of walking, would not unfrequently place

this kind. It is not long since he had an eye nearly knocked out, his ankles sprained, and his teeth broken; in short, he encounters perils by land and by water. These things cause me a good deal of uneasiness. Yet he is an affectionate and well disposed boy. The wound on his face is almost closed, though it looked ghastly at first. But he will always bear about him marks of his imprudence. Tell Harry it should be a lesson to him to be cautious, and to take more care of himself." Lampeter, May 17, 1815.

his tiny cap in his father's hat. Then he was sure of being a party in a romping match, in trundling the hoop, in flying the kite, in a game at ball, or in a hop-step-and-jump upon the green sward. In these rambles, it was not seldom my father's delight to direct our attention to the peculiarities of some curious plant or flower, to the minute wonders in the structure of some harmless insect, to the song of some feathered warbler, to the ever-changing beauties of the sky, or to the majestic splendour of the sun going down in a paradise of clouds. And he would tell us of the grandeur and the condescension, of the glory and the love of that Being who made them all.

Can it excite surprise, then, that he should have missed his little attendant in these rural walks, and that they should have lost in his eyes much of their power to please? Often, on similar excursions, after the youngest had been numbered with the quiet dead, would he speak to us of all his winning ways,

“ His pretty playful smiles,
His tricks, his mimicry,
And all his little wiles :
Oh ! these are recollections
Round parents' hearts that cling !
That mingle with the tears
And smiles of after years,
With oft awakening.”

Frequently has he been seen, when dismissing his pupils, to cast an involuntary look around the school-room for him, who had long been the chosen and the chief of his earthly delights ; then his countenance

would fall, and the tear would start into his eye. This bereavement, indeed, for years and years he deeply lamented, and it may be truly said, that 'his life appeared to be bound up in the life of the lad.'

It is but natural for the reader to expect, at this stage of the Memoir, some account of my father's character as a schoolmaster. The duty of a teacher is far more important than seems to be generally imagined. Of those who engage in the employment, some have all the patience, and all the solicitude for the welfare of their pupils that could be desired, without possessing either extent or accuracy of knowledge; while others have literary attainments of the highest order, but are deficient in almost every other requisite. To say that my father wanted none of these qualifications is to make no idle boast; as many who have had the best opportunity of judging will bear ready witness. His plan was, for the most part, similar to that pursued in the greater number of such seminaries. His pupils read the classical authors that are generally used, and stated times were appointed for other studies. It was customary for the senior scholars to write Latin and English themes on the Monday, and Latin verses on the Friday. On Saturday, after their usual lessons, the boys were formed into one large class. They were examined in the Church Catechism; and as they went on, comments and practical remarks were made upon different passages. When this lecture was concluded, it was my father's practice to give out a subject for a theme, to suggest a few hints, and sketch a sort

of outline for the benefit of those who were sufficiently advanced to undertake this kind of composition. He would then give them some important advice—on the necessity of employing their talents to the best advantage ; on the most appropriate manner of spending the approaching sabbath ; on the benefits of knowledge, especially when it is consecrated by piety ; and on the ruinous effects of ignorance and transgression. He would then commend his attentive listeners to God, and to the power of His grace.

Those whose privilege it was to be present upon such occasions cannot have forgotten with what simplicity, and yet with what elegance he was accustomed to address himself to the youthful understanding—how earnestly, how tenderly, and how persuasively he appealed to all the ingenuous feelings of the heart, and what stores of learning and experience he had at his command. On many the impression was so deep that it can be obliterated only by the hand of death.

In most schools it has been the custom to classify the boys according to their abilities, and to the progress which they have made. Thus the labour of the master is considerably diminished, although not seldom at the expense of the diligent and quick learner. The same system was pursued by my father ; but whenever he perceived that any of his pupils were materially retarded by their duller, or their less industrious class-fellows, he did not hesitate to allow

them to form other classes by themselves. Thus he greatly increased his own toil ; but he submitted to the inconvenience without a murmur, and would sometimes good-humouredly exclaim, " Why, how is this, sir, still *solus cum solo* ? " He acceded to these encroachments, not so much from a want of firmness, as from a suavity of manner which was peculiarly his own, and from a desire to accelerate the progress of his pupils. But notwithstanding his extreme anxiety to bring them on, he took care that they should not get into a habit of careless reading, and that their advancement in actual learning should keep pace with any vain ambitious wish that might spring up in their bosoms to outstrip one another. A little anecdote illustrative of this, as well as of his usual manner, occurs to the writer's recollection. A big dull boy, having finished a Latin author, asked permission, as he had " gone over " that book, to begin another. " Gone over it, indeed. Come hither, Mark," said my father, to his youngest little boy, at the same time placing the book on the floor ; " jump over that." When the child had performed the feat, he added, " There, sir ; he has gone over it as much as you have."

After all these labours of the day, he did not at night afford himself the rest which nature seemed to demand. He generally rose from his bed not later than seven or eight o'clock, and commenced his studies with unabated vigour, thus allowing his jaded faculties no more than four or five hours of

refreshment. His first occupation in the morning was to read a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, a practice which he had adopted from a very early period of his life, and which he continued to pursue to the last. This, together with his private devotional exercises, occupied him for about the space of an hour, when he joined the breakfast table and engaged in family prayer. The time between that and ten o'clock was allotted to letter writing, or to clerical employments. After this he made his appearance in the school-room ; the lessons of the younger boys having been previously heard by the assistant. Not seldom some portion of the morning, as well as of the half holidays, was filled up by services rendered to persons in distress, by the writing of letters and petitions on behalf either of veteran soldiers and sailors, or of clergymen's widows and orphans. He listened with the deepest sympathy and tenderness to their several cases of perplexity and sorrow ; and if their embarrassments were not removed, or their grievances redressed, the fault was not imputable to him. The extraordinary powers of his electrical machine were known far and wide, so that through the whole neighbourhood, for many miles, the aged and infirm flocked to him to seek the aid of his skill and kindness ; and to their appeals his ear was never closed :

“ He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt for all.”

After his patients had retired, it was no uncom-

mon thing for him to entertain his pupils with a lecture on natural philosophy. He would explain to them the nature of electricity, the laws of fluids, the nature and properties of air, the theory of light and colours, the difference between reflected and refracted rays, together with the causes of many of the phenomena which are calculated to awaken the curiosity of an inquiring mind. He would accompany his remarks with practical experiments that made them objects of the most intense interest.

In the summer of 1812, or 1813, he first introduced into his school the plan of acting plays. He commenced with a representation of Mrs. Hannah More's 'Sacred Dramas.' These were so much approved of, that he followed them up with the 'Comedies of Terence.' It is not intended to discuss in this place the question, how far engaging in such exhibitions may be consistent with the duties of candidates for the Christian ministry, or what may be their effect on the subsequent character of those who take a part in them ; but it is a fact in this particular case, that the individuals who personified David and Goliath, in the earliest of these performances, turned out to be very eminent men, the one as an orator, and the other as a writer.

As soon as my father entered school in the morning, whatever noise and disturbance there might have been in his absence, all was hushed, all was as still as death, not a whisper was to be heard even among the senior boys : they held him in such awe

and respect, at the same time that he was to them an object almost of adoration. He possessed unusual authority over their minds, although it cannot be said that he was either lax or rigid in his discipline. Contrition in an offender had upon his feelings the effect of oil upon troubled waters ; but want of submission, or persevering obstinacy, was adding fuel to fire, and he never remitted the manifestation of his displeasure until he had conquered.

Nothing perhaps contributed more to the encouragement of his pupils, especially when they had been some time under his care, than the art which he possessed of making them lay aside all timidity in his presence, and giving utterance without restraint to what they really thought. He was thus enabled to form an accurate estimate of their powers of mind, at the same time that he secured their confidence and friendship. And this familiar communication of sentiments extended alike to every subject—to criticism, to disputed points in history, to national usages, and to the political conflicts of the day. Whatever his own opinions were, though he never shrunk from avowing them, and though he would ably and zealously plead in their behalf, he would have scorned dogmatically to impose them upon his pupils. Wherever he discovered uncommon talents, his conversation was sure to call them into exercise, and his warm applause gave that degree of encouragement which, with open and candid minds, is one of the most powerful incentives to persevering industry.

In his domestic intercourse with those who were under his roof, he avoided as much as possible, on all occasions, every appearance of severity : and the ease and affability of his manners contributed, more perhaps than even the brilliancy of his intellect, to produce that affectionate attachment with which all his pupils were inspired. This attachment he had pleasure in cultivating, as one of the sweetest rewards of his labours, and as the most effectual restraint upon young men. He treated all his pupils alike ; or, to speak more correctly, the difference which might at any time be remarked in his attentions was the consequence of more amiable qualities of the heart, or of superior talent and application, never of superior rank and connexions. Not a few young persons whose lot had been cast in obscurity, but whose dispositions were promising, were taken by him into his house and educated gratuitously : some of them, in the stations which they occupy in the church and in the world, are now doing signal honour to themselves and to the kind hearted patron of their early days. Such are ready to rise up and call him blessed. When his pupils left him, his connexion with most of them was still continued. He was always delighted to hear of their success or eminence ; with many among them he kept up an epistolary correspondence, and if they were ever in circumstances of perplexity or sorrow, they knew where to find a friend and a counsellor.

During their examination every year for the Easter

prizes, he was always present ; and if he interfered as little as possible, that he was not an uninterested party might easily be gathered from the anxiety which was so clearly depicted in his countenance. Moreover, when any of the competitors had an eye to holy orders, he spared no pains in fitting them for the important office, and in setting before them the sacredness and responsibility of their duties ; and how deeply his feelings were engaged through the whole of the examination week can be known only to those who were on the spot. He thus speaks of these exercises :

“September 30th, 1816. I have seven pupils applying for orders this week, and I feel particularly anxious about them. I know not how they will all fare ; but of some of them I am very confident that they will do credit not only to me but to themselves, and, what is more, to the sacred office which they are to fill. Their classical acquirements are not inconsiderable, and as to their knowledge of theology, I flatter myself no university would have reason to be ashamed of them. Let us hope that their learning will prove a blessing to themselves as well as to others. ‘*Utilis lectio, utilis eruditio, sed magis unctio necessaria quippè quæ docet de omnibus.*’”

When his pupils eventually retired to their cures, which in nine cases out of ten his influence and his exertions had procured for them, no effort was wanting on his part to render them pious and useful ministers. In short, whatever profession or calling

they embraced, or whenever their preparatory studies closed, they were always sure of his benediction and his prayers :

———“ He gave them good advice,
Bless'd them, and bade them prosper.”

One instance from among many may be recorded, as it is characteristic. A youth had attained a commission in the marines, and the happy day, as he thought it, had arrived when he was to bid farewell to Greek and Latin, and to substitute for them the sash, the gorget, and the sword ; when he was to pass from the heedless life of a schoolboy, to the novel and more romantic career of a soldier. He was a fine looking lad of sixteen or seventeen, and was popular at school. His departure, therefore, was looked upon with no small degree of interest. Having given most of his younger companions a hearty squeeze of the hand, he came, surrounded by the senior boys, to take leave of his master. My father, while he grasped his right hand, placed his own left hand on the young man's shoulder, and reminded him of the real situation in which he stood. He told him that he was much mistaken if he imagined that the change he was about to make was in all respects for the better ; that he was going to leave a place where he had long revelled in the society of friends, and in the enjoyment of a multitude of blessings, for distant and foreign climes, where he must expect to encounter much care and many hardships. He hoped he would put in practice the good counsel which he

had so often received ; that in his zeal to serve his king and his country he would not be unmindful of that gracious Being, “ who ruleth in the kingdoms of men,” nor forget his deep obligations to his earthly parents ; that he would on no account omit to take with him, whithersoever he might go, his Bible and his Prayer Book, since these were weapons that it was incumbent on him to use, although they were not carnal, but “ mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds”—assuring him that, although this perishing world was so constituted that there were occasions on which man’s blood must be shed, he would not fight the less bravely for remembering the duties of a Christian soldier. “ And now,” said he, “ my dear D——, farewell, and may God bless you !”

The school-room may, indeed, be justly said to have been the theatre in which the powers of my father’s accomplished mind were displayed to the greatest advantage : still few persons could surpass him in an exquisite relish for the various and refined enjoyments of social and literary life. Ever desirous of mental improvement, ever incited by that thirst for knowledge which is so natural to a vigorous intellect, he combined with his classical and theological studies a habit of more extensive and varied reading than might have been expected from a person so much occupied in the business of a school. This habit is mentioned the more particularly, not so much because it is a feature that marks the individual, as because

it unquestionably had its share in giving him that superiority by which he was distinguished in general society. He was very communicative in conversation, and the facility with which he drew upon his ample stores of knowledge secured to his remarks the most respectful attention from persons of every class. A gentleman in North Wales speaking of him says: "I met your father occasionally at Coed Helen. He was one of the pleasantest and most intelligent men I ever knew. He possessed a great share of knowledge both ancient and modern, and his conversation abounded with anecdote and wit. He seemed at home on every topic that was introduced; and whatever anecdote was narrated by any other individual in the room, he was sure to have a corresponding one, which he told admirably. I conceived once an idea of taking him out of his beat; so I commenced talking of the Mahratta war, of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib, and of the scenes I had witnessed in India. But he was acquainted with all the transactions, knew even the characters of the principal actors, and could particularize the various incidents of that war far better than I could; so I held my tongue and became a listener, and never did I listen with more profound attention, or with greater pleasure."

In the year 1816, the bishop, in a very handsome and flattering manner, offered him the prebend of Llanddewi Aberarth, founded in the cathedral church of St. David's, and vacant by the death of the Rev.

W. H. Barker, my father's old master ; and he was installed on the 24th of August in the same year. This piece of preferment, however, was less valuable, in a pecuniary view, than as a station of honour, for it seldom produced more than four or five pounds per annum.

Towards the beginning of the year 1817 my father undertook the translation of my grandfather's Annotations on the Bible. These Annotations were first published in the year 1770. Perhaps no work that ever issued from the Welsh press had received a larger share of public favour, or had produced more abundant fruits of a religious life among the inhabitants of the principality. It had passed through many editions. There was scarcely a cottage in which a copy was not to be found, and scarcely a family that had not benefited by perusing it ; and that at a period when a Bible was comparatively a rare treasure. As the original work had been productive of much good to the Welsh community, it was supposed by the projectors that an English version would be acceptable to the middle and the lower classes of the English. It was this that induced my father to accede to the proposal, of which he thus speaks :

“ MY DEAR BROTHER, Lampeter, May 20th, 1817.
“ H— and H— are now on their way to the north, and I have only just time to scribble a few lines by them to say we are all well. The die is cast—I have now engaged to translate my father's notes. H—

called upon the bishop, and he has given not only leave to undertake the work, but permission also to dedicate it to him. He has moreover promised to subscribe to it, and to do all in his power to promote its success. I fear H— will take all the profits, should there be any. I only wish for enough to make me even with the world.

“ But this is speaking in a manner unworthy of a subject of so much importance. We ought to look beyond all sordid views. Yet it is difficult to see unmoved mercenary individuals with mercenary minds reap the fruit of our labours. What others do, however, is nothing to us : our individual line of duty is plain ; and if the translation be attended with half the good that blessed the original, I shall think my services amply repaid.

“ The summer is approaching, and we are without any intelligence from you. I request to know when you intend being in South Wales, as I am informed Mr. Bowen is to exchange duties with you, and we hope for the pleasure of your company for some time. I fear it will be out of my power to visit you this year, though I once intended it ; however, should I be able to undertake the journey, I should be glad to be apprized of your movements, that I may not arrive in the north when you are on your way to the south.

“ A person, who lately returned from Bala, assured me he had seen there a Mr. E— R— of Caernarvon, who gave him the strongest reason to believe that the

venerable rector of Llanrûg and family were in good health and spirits, though from the long silence observed in that quarter, unfavourable apprehensions had prevailed.

“ I beg you will present my kindest regards to him, and to his fair lady, when you can seize the *tempora mollia fandi*, and find the parties in good humour ; and let them know how much pleasure it would give me to hear from them, and to be informed of their welfare. — has a very fleet pony, and begs you will let Harry know, with his love, that he longs to match him against Sampson.

“ Young Hughes of Tregib, descended from the Gwynnes of Nannau, I recommended to you lately : has he called on you ? Yours most affectionately (in haste),

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

My father soon commenced the task ; but he did not live to finish it. This is much to be regretted, as a work of the kind would have been of great use in family worship. The comments at the conclusion of each chapter are above all praise ; they are concise and perspicuous, and the practical remarks are scriptural, chaste, and energetic.

In the autumn of 1817, my father, as rural dean of the upper deanery of Sub-Ayrion, was called upon by a deputation of his brother clergymen to draw up a petition against the claims of the Roman Catholics. A public meeting was not convened ; but he prepared the memorial for presentation, and procured to

it the signature of every clergyman within his jurisdiction.

“We have not been behindhand,” says he to his brother, “with the rest of the loyal and right minded portion of the community. We have forwarded a petition fully and respectably signed, against the Roman Catholic claims. I drew it up, and Mr. — took it round for signatures. He started late on Thursday evening, and, to our astonishment, was here to breakfast on Saturday morning. On the Friday, he and his pony must have travelled very little short of seventy miles. Let us hope that these expressions of public opinion will not be thrown away upon our legislators. A want of toleration on religious subjects is to be deprecated ; at the same time we have reason to look upon any concession, made to the enemies of Protestantism, with a jealous eye. It is really to be lamented that so many of the aristocracy of our country should be so misled by party as to overlook the lessons of wisdom which are to be learned from the records of history, and so blinded as not to see that vigilance and restraint are necessary, and that any concessions are totally incompatible with the security of a monarchical and Protestant government. There are many enlightened men among the Catholics, it is true ; but their religion is unaltered, and human nature is the same. Theirs is a religion which scruples at nothing for the accomplishment of its purposes, for securing the resumption of absolute and degrading power over the minds and bodies of men.

Until, therefore, it can clearly be proved that they would not abuse the power conceded to them, it will be impossible to treat them on equal terms with ourselves, and it would be impolitic as well as unwise to trust them. Those misguided Protestants who allow themselves to be carried away by party zeal from the consideration of these things, will rue the day that they ever stood up as advocates of so unrighteous a cause; they will find to their cost the truth of the maxim, that prevention is better than cure. May I never live to see it!" He always conscientiously abstained from entering the political arena. In the election of members to serve in parliament, it was his habit to occupy neutral ground, except in contests of acknowledged difficulty, and then he satisfied himself with tendering his silent vote. When he thought that the safety and the interests of the church and the state were endangered, he allowed neither his personal feelings on the one hand, nor the fastidious and inconsistent reprehensions of opposing parties on the other, to divert him from what he believed to be his line of duty.

Amidst his varied and arduous engagements he was now once more called to bow his head in sorrow :

“ His fond paternal heart had built a nest
In blindness, all too near the river's edge.”

The little girl who has already been mentioned as having been the innocent cause of so much anxiety when at Bristol, had at this time nearly attained the

years of womanhood. Her education had been watched over with especial care. She was regarded with admiration and delight by her own family, was a universal favourite among her schoolfellows, and all the promises of life were opening around her. She was slender and elegant in her figure, elastic and graceful in her step. Her hair was light and glossy, her blue eyes were full of intelligence and animation, and she had a voice that seemed to be the utterance of kind and happy thoughts. Her natural grace and delicacy of character accorded with the loveliness of her form, and it may be truly said, that the sight of her kindled pleasure in every heart. This may in some measure account for her being so preeminently the object of esteem and affection. She was probably the more beloved by her father on account of the striking resemblance which she bore to her mother.

In the autumn of 1817, she and her sister had gone on a visit to some relations in the neighbourhood of Caermarthen. While there, she put on a dress that had not been sufficiently aired. The consequence was, that the symptoms of a fatal disease soon manifested themselves, and in the course of a few months she closed her eyes upon this earthly scene, and her pure and gentle spirit ascended to the God from whom it came.

The subjoined letter from my father will more clearly explain the cause of her illness, and the state of his feelings at the time :—

“MY DEAR BROTHER, Lampeter, June 18th, 1818.

“SINCE I wrote to you last, I have again experienced a severe affliction. It is my lot to be often struggling with the waves of adversity ; but now, whether it may be owing to increasing age, or to the unusual accumulation of sorrows, I know not, I am almost overwhelmed ; and under the extreme depression, I am ready to exclaim in the words of the patriarch of old, ‘ All these things are against me.’

“From the tenor of my last letter, you will probably have anticipated what I am about to say. In September, Caroline and Fanny went on a visit to Caermarthen and Gelly ; while there Caroline caught a cold, so slight that it was not attended to. During her stay the weather proved very unfavourable, and her cough increased. As I was not with her, her youth and spirits tended to make her disregard all prudent precautions, and her disorder at last terminated in an inflammation of the lungs. When she returned home, I thought her unwell, but did not apprehend her to be in any danger. She continued for a few weeks in a state of debility and languor, and she was taken to Aberayron from an idea that the sea air might prove beneficial to her. A little more than a week ago, an improvement in her spirits, and a pretty bloom (but it was of an unearthly kind) that flushed her cheek, deluded me into a hope of returning health, and I had some intentions of allowing her to remain under the care of her kind friends

Mrs. and Miss Felix; but as I had my gig, and she seemed inclined to come home, I brought her back with me. On Monday the 8th instant, she and her sister went to Hafod to consult Dr. Rogers, and remained there that night. Dr. and Mrs. Rogers were extremely kind to them, and pressed them to prolong their stay. She returned the following day rather worse, but I attributed this to fatigue and the heat of the weather; on that evening she retired to her bed rather earlier than usual, and she never quitted it afterwards but to have it made. Last Sunday she was so unwell that I staid at home, and engaged a neighbour to do duty for me. She requested me to read a chapter in the Bible to her, as I used to do daily, and I read to her the lessons of the day and the Visitation of the Sick, to which she paid great attention, occasionally interrupting me with questions, and making her own sensible and devout remarks. Yesterday I went to school as usual, and continued to run in from time to time to inquire how she found herself: as she appeared much inclined to sleep, I was willing to flatter myself that the insidious complaint was taking a favourable turn. Whenever she saw me distressed for her, she assured me 'she was free from pain, and what a blessing that was; that she was very happy, and hoped to be more so.' I would then ask the grounds of her hope; and she would answer, 'the blood of Christ is my only plea; my Saviour is my all in all.' I was called up at a very early hour, rather before day-break, this

morning, and found her declining rapidly,—nature was sinking fast under the weight of the disorder ; and seeing me unable to repress my tears, as I gazed with anguish on her pallid cheek, she exclaimed, putting out her delicate and emaciated hand, ‘ Dear papa, do not cry ; God bless you ! ’—and expired a few minutes after, without a groan or any symptoms of suffering. She was always a most excellent creature, good humoured, dutiful, affectionate, and sweet tempered ; and it may be truly said of her, as was said of another person on a similar occasion,

“ She never gave her father grief but when she died.”

“ I promised myself that she would live to be a comfort to me in my declining years, and an honour to the family ; but my hopes are frustrated, and she has been cut down, as a flower of the field, in the midst of her sweetness. I cannot help dwelling on these things, though I am convinced of the inutility of repining, and of the necessity of submitting to the will of Providence. Bear with my weakness, and make some allowances for the feelings of nature. ‘ Jesus wept,’ and he allows his people to weep also. You never lost a child, and consequently do not know what it is in this sense to be a father, and I hope you never will. May your sun ever shine, and your horizon always continue unclouded ! * * * *

“ I am, my dear brother, yours affectionately,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

Again he writes on the same melancholy subject. —“June 29th, 1818. “Accept my warmest thanks for your kind letter of condolence, and for the lively interest which you seem to take in my concerns. It is easier, however, though I give you every credit for your good intentions, to offer advice on these occasions than to take it. Heaven alone reserves to itself the power of soothing our sorrows; and I endeavour, amidst the sympathy of friends, to have recourse to the only true comfort which we can find, and which, in the discharge of our Christian and professional duties, we recommend to others. I cannot help deeply regretting my loss. But I weep not as those who have no hope, for I have some ground for believing that my loss is her eternal gain: so that I may with justice adopt the language of the Shunamite, and say ‘All is well.’

“I was yesterday put to a severe trial, owing to the conduct of D— R—, who voluntarily engaged to come and take the duty for me, and never came. His promise had prevented me from accepting the services of another person who offered them; and though by good fortune I got a substitute in the morning, in the evening I had the very painful task of appearing before the congregation myself.”

It was some time before his mind recovered its wonted spring; indeed the frequency of these strokes was evidently shattering his vigorous frame. He well knew that a gracious hand was in these visitations; and where he could not trace he had learned to adore

and trust. Yet while his calm and holy mind surrendered itself to the Divine disposal, his resignation was not unmingled with the regrets and tears of human weakness. But the period was hastening on when his own pilgrimage would close, when he would draw his last sigh, when the storm would blow upon him no more, and his sorrows would all be over.

At Lampeter in the year 1817 or 1818, when a committee *De Lunatico Inquirendo* was sitting, my father was called as a witness, and had frequent opportunities of intercourse with the judge, Warren, and the counsel attending that committee. The judge was a good scholar, and a man of refined taste. There was on that account great congeniality between him and my father. They often met at table; and many a tale, and many a classical pun which fell from their lips contributed to the amusement and delight of not a few that were present. On one occasion my father in attempting to snuff a candle put it out. The judge made some witty remark upon my father's adroitness, when the latter elegantly confessed his error, and said, that the accident was an illustration of Horace's line, which he repeated with much humour:

“Dum brevis esse labore, obscurus fio.”

After this my father and the judge often corresponded; and my father wrote to his friend a letter in Latin sapphics. It was thus headed:

“Ad celebrem doctumque causicum Dominum Warren; carmen salutandi munus ferens.”

The poem itself is lost. In the field of modern literature he ranged at large : he was familiar with the French, Italian, and Spanish languages ; the first of them he spoke like a native. Theological researches, history, antiquities, and the *belles lettres*, were within the extensive compass of his miscellaneous studies. Thus with various and successive occupations, his mind was always maintained in active, intelligent, and profitable exercise, and this exercise he pursued with unabating ardour to the close of his life.

When in society he was occasionally betrayed into that absence of mind which the French call *l'étourdie*. The writer remembers to have seen him bow to a company, on taking his leave, with his own hat upon his head, while he had his neighbour's in his hand. But whenever he was reminded of such a mistake as this, he would pass it off with some humorous remark, or with an anecdote.

It is not in the writer's power to follow him through the various incidents of this part of his history, or even to enumerate the productions of his unwearied, elegant, and engaging pen. The number and variety of manuscripts which he left behind him, although they are partly destroyed, bear ample testimony to the persevering activity of his mind. Many of them abound with striking thoughts, and are written always in a perspicuous, and often in a richly ornamented style, with strong marks of erudition, judgment and taste.

He possessed a highly finished address and a win-

ning affability. His whole character and deportment were marked both by Christian gentleness and by an unaffected and most honourable bearing, such as forcibly recommended the richness of his conversation. He had nothing of self-admiring vanity, and nothing of intellectual pride. The humility of a man possessing a superior mind, and of an experienced Christian, pervaded alike his manners in the social circle, and his professional ministrations in the pulpit; by the bed of sickness, and in the house of mourning. It may be best known to those who had opportunities of witnessing his excellencies, how kind and generous and noble was his heart; how entirely divested he was of self, how considerate towards others, how indefatigable in his labours to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of his fellow creatures. Many persons, now eminent in the world, unhesitatingly ascribe much of their success in life, under the Divine blessing, to his judicious advice and friendly care.

In this connexion the writer cannot satisfy himself without presenting to his readers a letter which he had the pleasure of receiving a few months ago from one of his father's most talented and estimable pupils.

Ashley, near Chichester,

"MY DEAR SIR,

Oct. 8th, 1838.

"IT is with a melancholy pleasure that, in compliance with your request, I send you the accompanying certificate. I was not a little surprised and interested to find that your revered and honoured father was

married in the very church in which I myself began, and for seven years continued my ministry, and in which, nearly thirty years after him, I was myself married. Indeed I had not the least idea that he had ever been near Chichester, although I saw him after I was first settled there.

“The scenes of bygone years, to which your letter, and the announcement it contained, gave rise in my mind, you may well imagine, were not a little vivid and affecting. It is now full twenty-five years since I had the privilege of being under your excellent father’s instructions. I was then quite a youth, and you and your brothers and sisters were quite children. I dare say we should not now recognize each other. Since that period I have passed through many scenes at home and abroad ; and you have, now for many years, been exercising your ministry, I trust faithfully and zealously. I was at Caernarvon three years ago, and regretted much that I could not have the pleasure of seeing you.

“Of your kind-hearted and highly gifted father, I can only express a feeling common, I believe, to all those of his pupils who were in any degree capable of appreciating his character,—that of profound reverence and lasting attachment. To his kind and early patronage, I shall always feel myself largely indebted ; and to his marked and distinguishing attention I owe much of the little progress which I have since been enabled to make in the various walks of literature and science. His genius excited

my admiration; his high and varied attainments tended to elevate my ideas of learning; and his kindly notice of my exertions encouraged and stimulated my powers. With these feelings towards the author, I cannot for a moment hesitate to give you my name as a subscriber to his works; and I trust that your attempt to rescue from oblivion the remains of one so highly distinguished for elegant accomplishments, to say nothing of still more estimable qualities of a moral and religious nature, will meet with extensive encouragement.

“I remain, dear sir, very faithfully yours,

“J DAVIES.”

My father never suffered attacks to be made on religion, or offensive language of any kind to be used, without manifesting his displeasure, and when he could not rebuke the delinquent, he would silently retire. The writer remembers an instance. A person of the rank and education of a gentleman, whom my father met at the house of a common friend, but with whom he had not been previously acquainted, was so profane and thoughtless as to interlard whatever fell from his lips with oaths and coarse expressions. So inveterate had the habit become, that the presence of a clergyman could not check it. My father having first given some hints which could not well be misunderstood, that he disliked such language, and that he would not endure it, at last walked out of the room; nor would he again enter

the house until he had an opportunity of expressing his sentiments upon the subject. "If," said he to his friend, "you expect me to visit you, such men must not be of the party, for I cannot meet on the footing of associates, nor can I even recognize as gentlemen, whatever their station in society, or their wealth may be, persons who thus dishonour my Master's name."

In the month of November, 1818, he went over to Ireland to receive a small legacy left to his children, by the will of Col. Armstrong. He travelled on horseback to North Wales, taking one of his sons with him. Whilst staying in Dublin he well improved his time, and made himself acquainted with all the objects of curiosity in the place. As he had a taste for archaeological researches, he could not fail to be interested in the well-known claims of this beautiful city to the highest antiquity. He spent four or five weeks here, and occupied himself in visiting such of the public buildings and institutions as he had not previously seen; and he was much gratified not only with them, but also with the hospitality—the "*cead mille failte*," which is so peculiar to the Irish. He accepted of invitations from the fellows of Trinity College, and was conducted to the library, the museum, the laboratory, the chapel, and the spacious gardens and walks. When in the library he employed himself in examining several ancient and rare manuscripts, particularly the Greek manuscript of the New Testament, which belonged to

Montfortius, called the Codex Montfortianus, and cited by Erasmus under the title of "Codex Britannicus."* From this important volume Bishop Burgess had commissioned my father to make extracts. Among other curiosities which arrested his attention were the four gospels of Columbkil ; and some old translations of the Bible, by Wickliffe, Pervie, Ambrose, and Usher.

On his return homewards from Ireland, he crossed over the hills into Radnorshire, in order that he might fulfil engagements which he had made in that part of the principality. It was late in the day in January, 1819, when he left Aberystwith. The tract of country through which he had to travel was extremely intricate, and the night was both dark and cold. This journey, undertaken without any forethought of its natural consequences, brought on a disease, which, rendered more alarming as it was by the influence of domestic calamity, and of straitened circumstances, soon brought him down to the valley of the shadow of death.

He complained of no illness, and continued without interruption to perform his routine of duties with the same energy and perseverance as ever. But it was already too apparent to his anxious friends, that his sinewy and robust frame was beginning to bend

* "Repertus est apud Anglos Græcus Codex unus, in quo habetur, 1 *Joann.* v. 7., quod in vulgatis deest."

Erasm. Apol. ad Stunicam.

towards the earth, and that the seeds of an insidious malady had taken root.

He had been appointed one of the judges of the prize compositions of the Eisteddfod that took place at Carmarthen in July 1819. The aim of this institution, it is well known, was the promotion of literature and science in Wales; or, in the words of the preamble, it was designed for "the preservation of ancient and British literature, poetical, historical, antiquarian, sacred and moral, as well as for the encouragement of music."

"The rules of the Cambrian Society," my father observes in a letter to his brother, dated, December 7th, 1818, "I will bring with me. You should establish an auxiliary society to act in concert with it in every county in North Wales. I expect much good from it. The subjects proposed are for the Englyn, 'The harp new strung.' For the Cywydd, 'The victories of Sir Thomas Picton.' For the Awdl, 'The death of the Queen.' For the two English Essays, "The language and learning of Britain under the Roman government," with a particular reference to the testimony of Martial,

'Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus'

and the distinct characters and comparative advantages of the bardic institutions of Carmarthen and Glamorgan.

"I am nominated judge for South Wales, in conjunction with Iolo Morgannwg. It is a nomination

which I fear will cause jealousy and displeasure ; and which will preclude me from writing. What do you think of the following Englyn ? “ On the harp new strung :”

‘ Eos wanwyn yn seinio—Dadebrwyd
Dihunwyd di heno,
Rhaibiaist o’r hin oer heibio
Dy fwyn bryd yw haf ein bro.’

He thus writes again :

“ MY DEAR BROTHER, Lampeter June 20th, 1819.
“ I ENCLOSE you a printed paper sent to me by the bishop. The Bath Harmonic Society will attend, and there will be a concert for the benefit of the Welsh Harpers who come from a distance. There can, therefore, be no doubt that any good harper from your part of the country will find his account in attending, though I cannot take upon me to invite him, lest the responsibility should fall on me. We want amateurs as judges of the music. Robert Davies, of Nantglyn, and a curate in Denbighshire, are judges for North Wales. I have not heard their opinion : I have given you mine. Iolo Morgannwg complains immeasurably of all the productions. He says that they are “ horridly incorrect ;” that they betray a want both of invention and of taste ; and that he hopes no premium will be awarded to any of them. Some among them are beyond question, “ horridly incorrect,” and very inelegant, but they are not all bad. I pointed out two which I thought good, and

I perceive the Secretary, David Rowlands* is of the same opinion.

“I shall be glad of your countenance and support on that day, as I fear innovation. My motto is, “Nolumus leges Cambriæ mutari,” and I am determined to be guided by it.

“I remain, my dear brother, affectionately yours,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

The following letter gives an account of what took place at the meeting to which these communications refer :—

“MY DEAR BROTHER, Lampeter, July 17th, 1819.

“I AM sorry to hear of David Thomas’s illness, and that he was prevented from attending our session. Things succeeded far beyond our most sanguine expectation, and the meeting of the bards was accompanied by many circumstances that tended to give it unusual *eclat*. The meeting, in the unavoidable absence of Lord Dynevor, was opened by the Bishop of the Diocese, in an address of some length, stating the objects of the institution. It was uncommonly well received; his lordship was followed by Iolo Morgannwg in a short written speech, explaining the natural pursuits of the bards, the objects to which they should confine themselves, and the good which they

* The late Rev. David Rowlands, at that time curate of Carmarthen. He had previously been missionary at St. John’s, Newfoundland.

have done in Wales, especially in the preservation of the language. But I have no time to enter into detail. Walter Davies* was the great champion on the occasion; he carried off two prizes for compositions in verse, and one for the best composition in prose. He read the two former extremely well: in reading the latter he was a little provincial as to his accent, but he was very much applauded through the whole of his recitations. Iolo tied a blue ribbon round Mr. Davies's arm as a mark of bardic distinction,† when he was placed in the chair, and he made a druid of the bishop by tying a white ribbon round his arm, a ceremony to which the bishop submitted with a placid smile. Galarnadwr is supposed to be your quondam parishioner at Llanberis, Guttyn Peris.‡ On account of his being, for some reason or other, absent, the reading of his composition devolved upon me. This task I performed as well as I could; I found the disadvantage of not being very well acquainted with the hand. You may tell him that his poem was received with frequently repeated bursts of applause, with clapping of hands. He is to have £10. Your friend Jones of Llanfair is Gaer,§ £10, for his essay on the 'Learning of the Britons;' and

* The Rev. Walter Davies, then rector of Manafon, now rector of Llanrhaiadr yn Mochnant.

† In imitation of the ancient insignia of bardism.

‡ The late Mr. Griffith Williams, afterwards of Llandegai.

§ The Rev. John Jones, now rector of Llanllyfni.

Dafydd ddu o' Eryri, § £10, as an old bard of superior merit. I pleaded his cause very strenuously, and at last had his name taken down, with a promise that an annual pension of £10 should be allowed him. This proposal the chair seconded with some ardour: there were hundreds of persons of the first rank present, although none but subscribers were admitted, and as all were curious and eager to see and hear what passed, a great number paid their subscription money of one guinea at the door. Never was there such an Eisteddfod at Carmarthen since the year 1451; and it is said that it exceeded any ever held at any other place. It was a great disappointment to the ladies that they were not admitted at the opening, to hear the recitations; but they were present at every other part of the ceremony, and a Miss Jones was admitted as a bard. Blayney of Newtown got the silver harp, together with a donation of thirty guineas; Jones, the Prince's bard, invested him with the insignia. When I have time I will send you a fuller account. It is supposed that the next Eisteddfod will be held at Dolgellau, under the sanction of the Cambrian Society; but though all in South Wales ardently wish to co-operate and to afford all the aid they can, for fear of giving umbrage it is left to the gentlemen of North Wales to fix the next place of meeting, to name the president, and to choose the subjects for the prizes. It is meant that Sir

§ The late Mr. David Thomas.

Robert Vaughan, supported by such noblemen and gentlemen of the north as may feel interested in the success of the institution, should be requested to take upon himself the arrangements. If Sir Robert can be prevailed on to accept of the office, it will greatly forward the interests of the society; a fitter person can scarcely be found amongst the aristocracy of Wales, in point either of rank or of genuine British patriotism, Yr hên Gymro Glân.

“I trust no weak and frivolous jealousies will be permitted to retard the success of a society, which, if established on a grand scale, may operate wonderfully for the benefit of the language, the literature, and the music of the country. Several letters having been received from the literati abroad, particularly from France and Italy, it is hoped the circumstance may have an extensive effect, and be the means of bringing to light many important articles, as well in language as in antiquities. Roberts of Holyhead, and a Jones of some other place in Anglesey, were here, and designated themselves as bards: they will probably call upon you, and give you an account of what they saw and heard. They appeared to be deeply impressed with the respect shewn them, and so did all the North Wales bards and musicians present.

“Iolo, on the third day after dinner, mounted the table, with a full glass in his hand, and delivered an appropriate and animated speech, in praise of the Welsh language, and in commendation of the literary pursuits of the most learned inhabitants of the prin-

ciality. After many compliments to the memory of the dead, and a warm eulogy on the merits of the living, he earnestly entreated all parts of Wales to concur with ardour and unanimity in the furtherance of so patriotic a plan, supported as it is by men of the first character, and having in view, as it unquestionably has, the best purposes. He concluded with proposing the thanks of all present to the gentlemen who had attended from North Wales, wishing them a safe and pleasant journey home, and expressing a hope that his countrymen and he might have the felicity of returning the visit next year. These sentiments were uttered in good Welsh, and delivered as well as could be expected from a man of his age. The speech was received with raptures of applause. But I will tell you more when we meet, and that, I promise myself, will be soon. With best wishes for you and your family, I am, my dear brother, yours most affectionately,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

“P. S. My kind respects at Plastirion, Glangwna, Coed Helen, and to all friends round Snowdon. I was at Gelly last week: my mother rode with me to church.”

It was my father's intention, had his life been spared, to visit his friends in North Wales, during the Christmas vacation of this year; but the Great Disposer of events ordained it otherwise. “Peter and I,” says my father, in a letter to his brother, dated

Dec. 3, 1819, "hope to set off on the Monday after Christmas day, and to be with you as soon as we can in the course of that week." In another letter of the 22nd of the same month, evidently written with a tremulous hand, he says :—

"MY DEAR BROTHER, Lampeter Dec. 22nd, 1819.

"I HAD looked forward with much pleasure to my visit to your romantic country. Peter had been for the last month superintending the preparation of his equestrian paraphernalia, polling and trimming his pony, and cramming him with some of my best oats. But there has been sad lamentation here this week. On Monday last Mr. Jones * of Derry Ormond called to invite me to dinner, and to spend the night with him. After looking at me some time, and feeling my pulse, he said that he had changed his mind, and that instead of requesting me to visit him, he should request me to retire to bed, and to abide by his prescriptions; to which alas! I have been obliged to submit. And now I am likely to spend as pleasant a Christmas as the author of "Awdl y caws." Only that I have pills instead of cheese, and gruel and barley water instead of whey. But to be serious, my tenement of clay has had a sad shattering, and I

* This gentleman, whose stated residence was in Portland Place, London, had a country seat near Lampeter. He was brought up as a physician, but being possessed of large landed property, never practised, excepting occasionally amongst his most intimate friends. One of his sisters is the present Lady Astley Cooper.

sometimes think it is breaking up. Although I know I must quietly await the Great Master Builder's time for being turned out, I naturally feel anxious for my poor motherless children.

The son of the landlord of an inn in your neighbourhood called here lately, and introduced himself to me as a shipwrecked mariner. He said his vessel was lost in Carmarthen Bay, and that he with difficulty escaped with his life. I do not know whether his tale is true or not; but as he had the appearance of an honest fellow, I was unwilling to suppose him an impostor. I wrote to you by him to this effect, and then informed you of my intention to set off for North Wales on Monday next; but now I am completely laid up, and am very ill. I am, dear brother, yours most sincerely, "E. WILLIAMS."

"P. S. I can scarcely hold my pen. I am even too much enfeebled to look this over; so excuse all errors."

Hitherto he had enjoyed, for the most part, an excellent state of health, and had been capable without fatigue of going through the greatest labour, both bodily and intellectual. But he confided too much in the vigour of his constitution, and his extreme want of care was now beginning to produce its melancholy effect. He continued for some days longer in the state which he so affectingly described in his last letter, without much alteration in his appearance,

or any great increase of his disorder. He felt, notwithstanding, a conviction that he was hastening to the tomb, and he looked forward to it with calmness as a place of rest. He uttered no complaint: not a murmur was ever heard from his lips, nor were the faintest traces of chagrin or of undue anxiety at any time visible in his countenance. Neither the loss of appetite nor the decay of strength, neither languid days nor restless nights could break the settled composure of his mind. He would now and then as he paced up and down his room, (for each day he rose from his bed,) stand with uplifted eyes as if breathing a silent prayer to Him whose ear is ever open; and on a particular occasion when one of his sons observing this, expressed a hope that he was not in very great pain, he said, "No, my dear boy, thank God I am not in any great suffering of body; but my life is very precarious, and my mind is occasionally cast down at the idea of leaving you all without a guardian or a guide. But" he added, as if desirous of correcting himself, "He who feeds the sparrows, and provides for the raven his food when the young ones cry, will not forget you." Nor have they been forgotten; for amidst all their struggles and sorrows, those who have survived their lamented earthly parent have had reason to say, with adoring wonder, "Goodness and mercy have followed us all the days of our lives."

At other times my father addressed his children in the same spirit; but when he found that it overcame their feelings, he abstained from any further obser-

vation of the kind, though he failed not to give them his counsel as long as he possessed the power of utterance.

His path, as it is unnecessary to inform the reader, had often been far from smooth : one light after another had been quenched at his side, and he had passed through trials of his faith and constancy, which he had found it difficult to bear. But before he was altogether confined for the last time to the chamber of sickness, he had other domestic visitations, compared with which all that he had previously endured was as nothing in the scale. The measure of his sorrow was now full. He had received his death-blow, and, poor sufferer as he was, little remained for him but, like the stricken deer, to hide his head and weep in secrecy and in silence.

It had ever been the custom in my father's family to keep the anniversary of the birth of one of the children. Such a season was marked with nothing like extravagant revelry or sumptuous entertainment. A relation who usually took a prominent part was now and then disposed to signalize the day with a more distinguishing regard than was thought to be quite consistent with our general plainness and moderation ; but when such an attempt was made, my father never failed to discourage it. As the anniversary was in the beginning of January, it occurred this year during my father's illness, at a time when he was unable to participate in the affectionate congratulations of this domestic festival. We were anxious, therefore, to

dispense with it. But he, always more attentive to the gratification of others than to his own comfort, insisted on our inviting our young friends, and celebrating the day in the usual manner. He took especial care, however, to tell us, that although these commemorative periods were in most cases looked upon in a worldly point of view, and made too often excuses for intemperance and for boisterous mirth, they should rather be regarded as seasons of extraordinary gratitude to God, as the memorials of past blessings, and as incitements to a life of greater circumspection and usefulness. He told us that, in the spirit of the example set by the patriarchs of old, we ought then to erect pillars of rejoicing and of praise in the unaffected, overflowing gratitude of our hearts. The day consequently was kept, but it passed without its wonted gladness, as my father's absence was like a cloud in sunshine, and contributed not a little to cast a gloom over the tenor of our thoughts. It was the last anniversary that he lived to witness, or that we, as a once happy family, were ever permitted to spend together.

On the following day, which was Sunday, being unable to obtain any assistance in his church, he undertook the duty himself. After reading the service, which evidently cost him much exertion, he proceeded to the pulpit. His text was, *Isaiah* lv. 1. "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye buy and eat: yea, come buy wine and milk, without money, and

without price." His cheeks were deadly pale, the usual fire and expression of his eye had nearly vanished, and his voice was languid and tremulous. In short, his whole appearance was of a nature so deeply affecting that few who were present could ever forget it. They felt as if their revered pastor was taking his public leave of them, and was inviting them, for the last time, to the waters of life. They seemed to participate in the distress of the Ephesian elders, "sorrowing most of all that they should see his face no more."

On the 6th of January, my father once more wrote to his brother. It was the last letter that he ever penned; some parts of it are almost illegible.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"MANY thanks for your affectionate letter, I think it did me as much good as anything I have had to take since I have been ill. I can only say of myself that I seem to have fought all my battles under all the circumstances of the case as well as could be expected, and that I am, thank God, still alive. My life is a life of storms and tempests; as soon as one tempest is calmed, another is raised. In fact, I can find no harbour of permanent safety on this side of the grave. I have been prevented from answering your letter sooner by some medical operation or other, which I was obliged to undergo. On Monday I had a blister put on my side, to-day I have had another applied to my chest; so that you must not expect a

man to write with ease, when suffering from the drawings and writhings of such applications. You are right in your conjecture as to the cold which I brought from Dublin and carried with me over the Radnorshire hills. I neglected it too long, and it is the cause of my present illness. Hassall* is gone to London to meet young Marsden, son of the government chaplain in New South Wales. He is a lad of sixteen, and is described as a fine youth. Until I can discover the bent of his mind, I cannot say whether he is intended for law, physic, or divinity.

“ I have exerted myself to write more than on any other occasion, since my illness, but I cannot express myself to my satisfaction. I am so weak that I am unable to sit down to my studies for any continuance as I used to do ; and the heterogeneous doses that I take have so affected me, that I scarcely feel a pleasure in anything. My love to my sister. I intended writing to her a long letter, but do not find myself equal to the task. For many weeks I have not been out of my room ; I have been subsisting most of the time on water-gruel. My medical attendant, at present, allows me a little chicken panada, and chicken broth ; but what I relish most is a little custard which Fanny makes for me. The stomach is weak, and rejects most

* A pupil of my father's, from New South Wales, and now (1839), a missionary in that country.

things, when a nausea comes on, which I endeavour, when awake, to keep off with cold water : added to this is a constant hiccough, which is very troublesome. The children are very attentive to me : Fanny cooks for me, and reads to me, so that with all my deprivations, I have many comforts left. Adieu. Yours affectionately,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

It had now become apparent to all, that the earthly house of his tabernacle was soon to be dissolved. He was tolerably free from pain, but, as he states in the preceding letters, he was tormented by a constant hiccough, to which he had been more or less subject, for the space of a fortnight, or three weeks. About eight o'clock on the morning of Thursday, 20th of January, 1820,

“ A day for ever sad, for ever dear,”

he had as usual risen from his bed ; one of his sons assisted him in dressing : his mind was perfectly composed and even cheerful. If he had before been uneasy about the desolate circumstances of his family, he was now so no longer ; for he seemed to be absorbed in one feeling, one solicitude, one employment, that of examining into his spiritual condition, and of looking forward to the awful scenes which were soon to open upon his soul.

About noon he called for his draught of medicine ; and just as he had taken it, he was suddenly seized

with a fit which convulsed his whole frame, and he held the wine glass with so firm a grasp, that it could not, without difficulty, be taken from his hand. Two of his children were then by his side, and their loud and bitter cries for assistance disturbed him. He said, "Hush, my dear children: do not be alarmed, the trial is nearly come, the terrors of death have fallen upon me; it is medicine to heal the soul that is wanted now, and vain, at such a moment, is the help of man. Be good; be virtuous; ask for God's Holy Spirit to guide you, and we shall soon meet again." While he was thus talking to his children, and quieting their minds, some of his friends and pupils called. They saw that he was sinking away, and begged to remain with him that they might have the benefit of his last instructions. He was evidently pleased with their attention, and shook them each with great affection by the hand. His thoughts still ran in their well worn channel of ministerial and school engagements, and he omitted not to pour out his blessing, and to offer suitable admonitions.

One of the young men among his visitors was on the point of being ordained by the Bishop of London, and of going as a missionary to North America. In consequence of his old master's illness, he had been long waiting for credentials, and for other papers connected with his mission. But although he did not obtain all the letters that he required, he received those exhortations upon which, if we may be permitted to draw an inference from his subsequent

success, he faithfully acted. My father told him, not only what to do, and upon whom to call in London, but how to conduct himself when he should enter the field of his ministerial labours. "Learning," said he, "unless devoted to the best of purposes, to the glory of God and the salvation of souls, will be an incumbrance to you in your heaven-directed pilgrimage; it will be a loss rather than a gain, a curse rather than a blessing. I can speak from experience, and can well say,

'Heu, vitam perdidit, operosè nihil agendo!'

"Yes," he added, "I have paid more attention to the perishable things of this world, than a creature possessing an immortal soul ought to have paid. This deeply distresses me now; may God forgive me. We can cling only to our Saviour's atonement for a hope of acceptance, and for an acquittal at his awful bar. May you, ere you stand there, know what is meant by a life of faith upon the Son of God." He spoke these words in the tone of an echo from the bosom of a sepulchre, and as it was the language of one who was actually on the verge of eternity, it made a deep impression on those who heard it.

His address to the young clergy present was also extremely solemn and affecting. "You may be convinced," said he, "that knowledge without true piety is of no avail at this trying hour. The frail body of the man of learning, as well as that of the unlearned, must, after a short period of pain and

sorrow, return to its native dust : the only sure foundation that will stand the shock of death, is faith in the Saviour of sinners, the foundation stone laid in Zion, the living stone, that tried stone ; here we may securely rest all our hopes. My last advice to you is, be faithful ministers of Christ ; and may he bless your labours."

After speaking thus for a full hour or more, he turned to his weeping children with a look of unutterable tenderness : " My dear orphan children," said he, " crying you came into the world, and crying you may, probably, go through the world ; but I hope, when you are called hence, you may leave it rejoicing."* After pausing to take breath, he added, " O ! weep not thus, it breaks my heart to hear you ; you have a Father in heaven, who will watch over and protect you ; he is able to bestow more than he takes away ; to his care I commend you."

It was now about half past five o'clock, and my

* The sentiment bears a striking resemblance to that of the Persian epigram so exquisitely translated by Sir William Jones :

" Thee on thy mother's knee, a new-born child,
In tears we saw, when all around thee smiled ;
So live, that sinking in thy last long sleep,
Smiles may be thine when all around thee weep."

Five of his children survived my father : Maria Jane Bettenson, born January 29, 1799, married November 20, 1819 ; died July 22, 1822. Frances Charlotte Martha, born July 29, 1800, died August, 1838. St. George Armstrong Williams, born January 1, 1804. Peter Bayly, born April 27, 1805, died August 31, 1823. Eliezer Nugent, born December, 1808.

father hung his head on the chair in which he was sitting, quite exhausted ; but the powers of his mind were unimpaired, even to the last. His breath began to fail him. While we stood around, we thought from the motion of his lips, that he was breathing a silent prayer. A friend present repeated with deep solemnity, those beautiful words from the book of the Revelation ; “ I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, From henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord : Even so, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them.” A female friend quoted with great emotion, a part of Pope’s well known ode :

“ Vital spark of heavenly flame.”

My dear father’s breathing became more and more irregular, until at length, without a struggle or even a sigh, he fell asleep in Jesus.

As soon as the melancholy event became known in the little town of Lampeter, the sorrow not of the wealthier inhabitants only, but of the poorest of the poor, could not be misinterpreted. It was sincere, and deep, and general. There was but one opinion, one sentiment, one voice. All esteemed and all lamented him. “ Our good old master is gone ; we have lost our friend ; our kind-hearted pastor is no more !” These were the exclamations on every side.

His death was thus announced in the Carmarthen Journal : “ Lately at Lampeter, Cardiganshire, aged sixty-six, universally lamented by a large circle of

friends and a disconsolate family, the Rev. Eliezer Williams, M. A. If we fairly estimate both his rare endowments and his virtues, we may justly consider him as one of the most splendid luminaries that ever shed its lustre on the principality of Wales.

“Possessing a character brightened with every distinguishing quality, he lived respected as an historian, a scholar, a poet, and a divine; unassuming and modest in every action of his life, he was dignified without pride, and charitable without ostentation. His time and thoughts were devoted to the general benefit of mankind; and the advantage which his pupils derived from him in the capacity of a teacher, will be remembered with gratitude as sincere as it is ineffaceable.”

As my father was beloved while living, and regretted in death, it can be no matter of surprise that he was honoured at his funeral. The day of that solemnity presented a striking evidence of the esteem in which he was ever held. A large concourse of persons, including many of different denominations of Christians, assembled on this sad occasion. The clergy, upwards of twenty in number, walking two abreast, preceded the corpse, which was followed first by the relations of the deceased, next by his pupils, and then by the Sunday school children, and a long procession of individuals, who had enjoyed his instructive society, and who were desirous of paying to him this last tribute of respect. The church was crowded in every part to excess. The service

was read, and the funeral sermon was preached, by the Rev. Daniel Bowen, M. A. who had been one of his intimate friends. His was indeed a painful task: it is not often that the feelings of friendship have been so severely tried. The text was, Luke xii. 37. "Blessed are those servants whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching." The address was listened to with breathless attention, and drew forth many tears. During the interment, the family vault, which was situated near the altar, and which had around it a weeping throng, exhibited a scene that was at once solemn and beautiful; while the impression of the funeral service, and of the singing, was deepened by the involuntary recollection, that the words now uttered at the grave of the departed pastor had been often pronounced by him over the remains of those whom he had committed to their last earthly abode, and that the psalms and hymns, the sound of which was now falling upon the ears of the congregation, were sung by his own pupils; who, from the first, encouraged by him, had conducted that part of the public worship, and brought it to a height of perfection which it seldom reaches.

As soon as these solemnities were over, his children found themselves in a condition of helplessness and sorrow, which no words can adequately describe. Young as they were, they could even then feel somewhat of the oppressive magnitude of their loss, and though a temporary asylum was most kindly afforded them by some of the neighbours,

they had to taste the bitterness of leaving a home which had so long been dearer to them than any other spot on earth, and they were but too sensible that they had to explore the path of life alone and unprotected, with no parent's eye to watch over them, no parent's voice to warn or to encourage them, and no parent's hand to guide them.

Inadequate as is the sketch which is here submitted to the candour and indulgence of the reader, the incidents recorded in it of my father's uneventful and unpretending history, are sufficient to render a formal delineation of his character superfluous.

It ought, however, to be observed, that he was, in the best and only valuable sense of the expression, a public man, interested in every thing by which the welfare of the community at large, and especially of his countrymen could be promoted. For the duties of a public man, he was fitted by his activity of mind, by the clearness of his judgment, and by the purity of his principles. These qualities did much for his usefulness ; in fact they were essential to his influence, and they often enabled him to recommend successfully to others the same philanthropic and generous spirit by which he was himself distinguished.

He entered with earnestness into every design, which promised to open new fields of intellect around him, to spread enlarged habits of thought in his neighbourhood, and to befriend the poor and helpless. All these objects had his pecuniary aid, and to all of them he contributed, what is often of a far greater

value than silver and gold, he gave them his time, his thoughts, his counsel, "his love, his zeal."

He seems to have felt the claim of every thing human on his sympathy and his services; that great maxim of Christianity, "no man liveth to himself," was engraven on the tablet of his heart. Without effort he conciliated the regards of friendship, and made himself, in an extraordinary degree, the object of respectful attachment both at home and abroad. Indeed he was finely gifted for all the offices of mutual kindness and generosity. Whatever might be the subject, his conversation was sure to be instructive and pleasant; he assumed no more than his part, but he took that part with readiness and ease.

For the honour and efficacy of the established church he was deeply concerned; and to its interests, wherever he could promote them, without being bigoted on the one hand, or fanatical on the other, he was willing to make any and every sacrifice.

As a teacher of youth he has rarely been surpassed. His skill, his faithfulness, and his zeal, were repaid by the universal and ardent affection of his pupils. Perhaps never was a schoolmaster more sincerely beloved, or, when his career was closed, more deeply lamented.

In his most intimate domestic connexions in the sanctuary of his home, he was beyond measure distinguished; to all the members of his family an object of the most ardent attachment—their pride, their delight, their joy. What he was, how he lived among

them, what his spirit was, what his condescension, his benignity, his tenderness, there is nothing in language to describe. Let the love, the gratitude, the mournful yet sweet remembrance which embalms his memory in the bosoms of his surviving children, let these declare it.

O! yes, to his name, his ever dear and sacred name, there is a monument more durable than marble, in the good which he effected while living, and in the fine example which he left behind him; and may we not humbly hope that when the morning of the resurrection shall break, and this mortal shall put on immortality, he will, through the merits of the Saviour in whom he trusted, enter upon a blessed inheritance, and have a place of honour assigned to him in those mansions of his Father's house, where all tears will be wiped away from all faces, and no voice will be heard but that of thankfulness and of praise!

In the parish church of Lampeter, is an elegant mural tablet, honourable alike to my father's character, and to the gratitude of his admiring pupils.

M. S.

ELIEZER WILLIAMS, M.A.

Ecclesiæ Menevensis Præb.

Hujus ecclesiæ Vicarii

Nec non Lampetriensis Scholæ

Conditoris præceptorisque,

Viri dignissimi,

In omni literarum genere doctissimi,

Morum suavitate ornati,

Magno mentis acumine præditi,

Summâ erga Deum pietate,

Erga homines benevolentia,
Discipuli sui, quos sibi
Paterno amore devinxit,
Hoc marmor statuerunt.
Ob. Jan. 20. A. D. 1820. Ætat. 68.*

Oedd anwyl i'w gyd-ddynion
Anwyl y'w yn nheulu Iôn ;
Holl lu y nef llawen fynt
O'i roddi 'n gymmar iddynt.

* It should have been 66.

APPENDIX.

Page iv. line 9. "Son of the Rev. Peter Williams."

The following Memoir is written with so much unaffected simplicity, and breathes so admirable a spirit, that it cannot fail to interest the reader.

THE LIFE OF THE LATE REV. PETER WILLIAMS,
OF CARMARTHEN, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

BOTH my parents were descended from reputable families :* before their marriage they resided in the town of Laugharn ; but soon after their union, they took a considerable farm in the parish of Llansadwrnen, or Laugharn Marsh, near the boundary of those two parishes, and there I drew my first breath : as a lover of my country, and particularly of my native place, I wish that the inhabitants of that neighbourhood may enjoy much prosperity, especially in a religious sense, and come to the knowledge of Him, whom to know is eternal life. I may here observe that my father and mother were married with the consent and approbation of their parents, and that their conduct in this respect was highly commendable, and should be an example to young persons of both sexes. I was born January 7th, 1722, so that, admitting the alteration of the style, I now (1794) begin to enter the 72nd year of my age, which, we know, is beyond

* On the mother's side, from the Baylys of Mydrim, who were descendants of Dr. Bayly, Bishop of Bangor in 1616. In the year 1457 Thomas Bayly, of Deptford, esq. died, intestate, leaving large possessions. Notice was given in the usual way, by the Deputy Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer, to the next of kin, and my grandfather traced his lineal descent, and made out a distinct claim ; but the application came too late, and the property was lost. These interesting documents, however, which are very curious, as shewing how rapidly families intermingle, are still preserved.—*Editor.*

the general period allotted to the children of men in this world. My days are fulfilled; "He that hath ears to hear let him hear;" eternity is at hand; "the judge standeth before the door."

My mother had a taste for religion, and sometimes attended the ministry of that useful, laborious, and studious minister of Christ, Mr. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror. When I was five or six years old, she would carry me on horseback behind her, to hear that gospel minister: and although she had two children besides me, a daughter and a son, and an early education was given to us all, and each of us learned to read and write, yet I was my mother's favourite, because I took most delight, as she observed, to remember and repeat remarkable passages of Scripture; such as that of the children who mocked the prophet, and were destroyed by a wild bear; or the man who was stoned to death for breaking the sabbath; Joseph sold by his brethren, but at last exalted to honour in Egypt. She took particular care of the bringing me up, as Rebecca did of Jacob. I heard some wicked boys swear; and I, it seems, imitated their filthy language, as nearly as I could mutter it out; my mother heard me, called me to account, and gave me the smartest whipping I ever had in my life. The consequence was, I never attempted to swear again.

My parents would consult together sometimes at leisure hours, how they should settle the children; the boys, they said, must be put to some trade, or take up some business or profession; but my mother would insist on my being a minister of the gospel, that they might thus dedicate me to God, like Samuel (1 *Sam.* xvi. 12.) or David; for she would have it, that her son resembled the son of Jesse, who was intended for great achievements. Indeed, she would fain forebode that I should be a preacher at some time or other, and more particularly after I had dreamed a remarkable dream, which I hasten to relate, with the interpretation. It came to pass, as follows: There was a stool on which my mother usually sat when she was a nurse, and we children

continued to call it ‘mother’s stool.’ However, one night, when I was perhaps about seven or eight years old, I dreamed, and I will not say the visions of my head troubled me, but rather delighted me. I saw in my dream, and behold some visitors came into the house ; I wanted to enquire who they were and what they came for ; or at least, I thought in my dream, that I knew two, of whom I had read lately, and they appeared lovely to behold, and I thought I was delighted with the sight of them. They came forward, as I thought, and approached the fire-place, and sat down close together on mother’s stool, and I was much pleased with their company. And when I awoke in the morning, I related my dream to my mother, and she told it to my father, “pondering in her heart what all this could mean.” But my father passed it by, saying, Dreams are not to be minded. However, my mother interpreted the dream in my hearing, for they thought I did not understand what they said, because they talked in Welsh ; yet I knew the purport of the matter, and never forgot it. “I shall die soon,” said she, “but Christ will supply my place, he will take care of the child, and give him a seat in his house as he did the apostle Peter.”

In the space of twelvemonths my mother died, I suppose of a fever ; and in the year following my father died also, and left three fatherless children ; when I was about twelve years of age, my brother ten, and my sister fourteen, my uncle on my mother’s side took me ; and my uncle on my father’s side took my brother. A few years after this, my sister had a call to Bristol to a gentlewoman from Langharne, who had settled in that city ; and there my sister lived many years, and died about thirty years ago (in 1764) ; my brother was put to school, became a good arithmetician, and afterwards lived at Broadway, near Laugharne, and from that place he removed to Bristol, where he still resides. His name is David ; I wish he may learn, old as he is, to tune some strings on David’s harp, then should we rejoice and sing together when our work is ended.

As for me, I followed farming work with my uncle, as I did with my father, when necessary ; at seed time and harvest time especially, and at other times went to school, which was my chief delight : I would steal a few minutes to read, almost every time I sat down to eat ; and when at school, I would often prefer reading to playing ; and when I attained to some proficiency in classic authors, namely, Latin and Greek, a play day would be my ply day.

When I arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen, I was often solicited by my uncle to choose some trade or line of business ; but I could not fix upon anything, nay, though I tried, yet it was with reluctance, for I felt my heart inclined to the ministry ; but feared it was too expensive for me to attain a degree of knowledge, suitable to that honourable function. Yet all the while my Heavenly Father was mindful of me, although I knew him not. He preserved me in my youthful days and my years of folly from committing presumptuous sins, or being guilty of anything scandalous in the eyes of men, although as it was said of young Samuel, that he knew not the Lord, so I was ignorant of the true God ; yet He was graciously pleased to implant his holy fear in my heart, and to keep my conscience awake in the midst of a sleepy, careless, and sinful world.

I frequently communed with my own heart ; I was conscious of its impurity, and felt the truth that David declares, where he saith, “my heart sheweth me the wickedness of the ungodly :” I was affected with this consideration, especially when musing and meditating on the state of the dead. The grand question with me was, “How shall I appear before God ? How can I expect to be acquitted in the awful presence of that just Judge, from whom and at whose appearance, heaven and earth, even all the elementary world shall flee away, vanish, and be no more ?” I generally solaced myself and hushed my trembling soul, with the vain reply, I am not a greater sinner than all that ever died ; I know many, and doubtless there are thousands more, sinners like my-

self, that died in hope of a resurrection to eternal life, and why should I despair? But when God by his blessed spirit working in me through the gospel of Christ; removed the veil from the eyes of my understanding, I plainly perceived that all my plea and all my hope were in the language of the poet, "like the baseless fabric of a vision," or in plain Scripture words, "like a house built upon the sand without any solid foundation."

But this conviction by the light of the gospel of Christ I did not receive till some time after, nor was there a friend, "an interpreter, one of a thousand, to shew unto a man his uprightness;" and if I had declared the perplexity of my mind, probably they would have thought me mad, for there was no knowledge of God in the land. Nevertheless, my gracious God did not utterly forsake me, but continued to draw my attention to Him by frequent calls from heaven, by the voice of his holy angel; not once, but several times, when I was alone, walking or going on an errand, did I hear a voice calling, Peter! It was a voice superior to any human voice; as different and distinguishable as the voice of thunder from the sound of a trumpet; yet it was not terrible, but comfortable; and it put me in mind of what I heard from my mother and had read in the Bible—that the angels of God encamp round about them that fear Him. Whence it appears, that the Almighty God and Saviour hath appointed guardian angels to attend and protect the children of God and the heirs of the kingdom of Heaven.

When I arrived at the eighteenth year of my age, I was entered, according to my desire, into the free school of Carmarthen, which I attended with great assiduity for the space of three years; during which time I obtained the notice and approbation of my tutor, the Reverend Thomas Eynon, to whom, afterwards, I wrote a letter of thanks in Latin, and that letter, as I had reason to suppose, facilitated my entrance into holy orders; for I must inform my readers, that I was then, through a miracle of grace, become another man; I was then a new creature.

This was brought about by the instrumentality of that great man of God, the Reverend George Whitefield. He came providentially to Carmarthen a few months before my departure, and it was given out that he would preach in Llammas Street on the conduit, such a day at eleven o'clock; my tutor was informed of his coming, and thought proper to warn his pupils, especially those of the first class, against going to hear him, lest they should be infected with methodism. And when the time came, and the hour was up, namely, eleven o'clock, the scholars were dismissed, except the first class, who were summoned to attend exhortation, for it was customary with Mr. Eynon to give a short exhortation to the intended candidates, preparatory to their ordination, and we attended accordingly. The tutor proceeded to give instructions what authors to read, and what plan to pursue in studying divinity, &c. But the chief charge then was, to beware of the stranger that was to preach that day, "for," said he, "I am told he preaches original sin, that man must be born again, and that we must be justified before God, by faith, without works." However, three of my companions and myself agreed to go secretly to hear the preacher, which we well might among such a numerous crowd. We placed ourselves amongst the multitude, determined to hear and judge for ourselves; and I think I may say, I stood and hearkened with as much attention, as any of them all; for God had prepared my heart, by frequent warnings given me, and some partial imperfect convictions which I had often felt under sermons, and that with vows and resolutions of immediate and unreserved reformation, which were as often broken as made. Nevertheless, as fallow ground, broken up and turned over and over, renders the wild soil tractable and fruitful at last; so was my stubborn heart made obedient in the day of his power, and rendered susceptible of the immortal seed of the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.

Mr. Whitefield's text was that notable passage in the prophet Isaiah, "Thy Maker is thy husband." He ob-

served the relationship between God and his people, in Christ Jesus. He showed the ground and nature of the marriage, and the happiness of the bride. God became man : there is the ground, as touching the nature or manner : love is the bandage that binds the soul to God for ever and ever. He invited all to partake of that happiness, namely, to be espoused to Christ, whose glorious excellencies he most emphatically described and proclaimed. " Would any one have a wise husband, behold Christ is wisdom itself ; or a rich husband, and such we all need to pay our debts ; all that the eternal Father hath is his. As Abraham's servant said, in commendation of his master Isaac, ' Unto him hath he given all that he hath.' Humble and kind, none like Him : beautiful and comely, surpassing the children of men. Are any in debt ? He is willing and ready to discharge the utmost farthing without a frown. Alas ! my poor fellow-sinners, we are all debtors to the law of God, for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God. We are in danger every moment of being arrested by Divine Justice, and cut down by the irresistible axe of the king of terrors, and cast into hell. No wonder that Felix trembled at the hearing of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. Wilt thou go with the man ? Will ye embrace the free salvation ? cast away your idols, return to your first husband, be espoused to Christ, believe in him, and live for ever, beyond the reach of Sinai's thunder, safe from the fear of death and judgment. Receive the glory, let him come into your hearts, accept the golden ring, the token of endless love. Resign yourselves to the mighty Saviour, he is ready to receive all that come unto him. Oh, give your hearty consent to the agreement ; call the spirit to witness ; write with your hand, I am the Lord's. ' Surname yourselves by the name of Jacob.' Then, and not till then, you may live and die in hope of eternal happiness with Christ in heaven. Yet some men entertain such a high conceit of their own virtue and goodness, that in open contempt of law and gospel, they are ready on every

accusation to plead, not guilty. If such was every man's plea, then Christ died in vain, which is the greatest absurdity to suppose; for that would amount to an impeachment of Divine Wisdom and Justice. The truth is, Christ is our life. There is no life but in him, and through him. It is vain and presumptuous, therefore, for any man to say, 'I do no harm,' for he should say rather if he knew his own heart intimately, 'I do no good.' For, as St. Paul says, 'In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing;' for if the best of us all were to be called to judgment, and dealt with according to his deserts, moral or religious, we should all of us be condemned to hell for ever."

Thus the preacher went on, and I was wounded, but not overturned, or thrown prostrate at the foot of the cross. I felt the point of his two-edged sword, but I was not cast down to the ground; at length, he exclaimed vehemently, "My dear friends, I have been for some years, as diligent as any of you; I prayed seven times a day, I fasted twice a week, went to church every day, received the sacrament every sabbath, and all this while I was no Christian." That sentence, uttered with emphatic energy, smote me so powerfully, that my whole frame tottered, and I was no longer like myself, than the clay marred under the potter's hand resembled the intended vessel until it was formed anew.* I instantly felt a desire, that the eloquent preacher would condescend to tell me, what it was then to be a real Christian, since all his endeavours and incessant labours availed him nothing; and no sooner was the thought formed in my heart, than the sacred teacher began to expound the mysterious doctrine. "Now," said he, "perhaps some of you are ready to ask me, what is it, then, to be a Christian?" 'Yes,' my heart replied, 'I am the man who wishes to obtain that important information.' "In a word," said he, "it is to receive the Spirit of Christ; for if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.

* Jer. xviii. 4.

You must feel your misery by nature ; you must know and feel the want of a Saviour. You must believe that the man Christ Jesus is the son of God ; that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, and that he is able to perform the work that he came into the world to do. To save from sin, from the dominion of sin, from the guilt of sin, and from the pollution of sin. It is to know his voice, to take up his cross and to follow him ; to be one with him, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh ; to abide in him, and for him to abide in you, to be his temple, to converse with him, to know his will, and live to his glory." ' Alas,' said my soul, ' I am no Christian then, in this sense of the word ; I have gone to church indeed, I have said my prayers, made the responses in a formal manner, joined in singing, &c. but I was never at sacrament, nor did I understand what it meant, and much less did I know of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Christ dwelling in me ; alas, I have deceived myself ! I thought I was something, but I now find I am nothing.' The divine preacher again proceeded, " Precious souls, you may think I bring strange things to your hearing ; I acknowledge, it is not long ago, when such doctrine as this appeared strange to me myself. I saw a book entitled, ' The Life of God in the Soul of Man,' I wondered what the author meant ; but, upon further reflection, and after studying and examining the subject, I was convinced that the author was right, and that I was wrong ; that he was more perfectly instructed in the doctrine of Christ Jesus, than I was. However, the Spirit of truth can teach us all to follow the Lord."

My companions heard with great attention, and applauded the preacher ; but they knew nothing of the new building that was erected in my heart, I mean the new creature that was formed within me, and that in the space of that important hour. It seems there is an appointed time for all things ! I had felt frequent convictions, as I mentioned before, and had made frequent resolutions to cast away my idols, to relinquish carnal pleasures, and lead

a new life ; but I neglected to pay my vows unto the Lord, and forgot my guardian angel. Yet the day-spring from on high visited me. The time of my conversion was accomplished, all my sins in thought, word, and deed, were brought to my remembrance, as though a flood-gate had been opened, and the angry flood poured out furiously upon me ; so that my soul was overwhelmed with fear and confusion. Every thing around me appeared strange and uncouth, nay, the neatest building was no more to me than as a nauseous dunghill ; I had no more any delight in heathen authors ; I went to school, but could not collect my thoughts to study my lesson. I endeavoured to conceal my complaint as much as possible ; but my tutor perceived I had been affected by the sermon, which he had forbidden me to hear, yet he never spoke a word to me. It afforded some relief, however, to think that in a little while I should be at liberty to seek new companions that knew something of God. My former companions forsook me, my intimate friends would not know me ; they would turn aside in the street to avoid me ; my acquaintance were disappointed in me, expecting to find me an excellent scholar and a sociable minister ; they were sorry to hear, they said, that I was turned a fool ; that is, I had espoused the cause of methodism. It is well known, that all who could not be contented with the “form of godliness without the power” were then called methodists. However, I think they had no more reason to be angry with me, than the Jews had to persecute Paul for obeying the voice from heaven. Nevertheless, lover and friend were put far from me ; so that I had not one in the world, that I knew, who would sympathize with me, in my distress, except a young woman belonging to the family where I lodged, who was converted, I hope, effectually under the same sermon. I admire the wisdom of God in all the gracious dispensations of his providence. I had consented to join with one or two jovial young men to pay a musician, for the season, as they used to say, that is at Easter, Whitsuntide, &c. and during the time of vacation

from school, when we intended to divert and amuse ourselves with dancing, &c. But at the very point of time, just before Easter, I was converted to Christ; so the scheme formed to please the flesh was entirely disconcerted.

I quitted school in the twenty-first year of my age, and commenced schoolmaster myself for one year, at least, at Cynwyl Elfed: what my usefulness was there many can testify, especially the Rev. John Thomas, now in Cardiganshire, near Lechryd; I had the prize of the high calling of God always in my mind. I mean not only the privilege of being a disciple of Christ, but the honour of being a minister of Christ. I confess, that since I began to study divinity, I had the ambition to hope, that before I departed out of the world, I should be able to let the world know that I had been in the world. I do not mean by ostentation, like Absalom's pillar, but from a principle of universal love, and a real desire to be instrumental in the salvation of sinners, and a worker together with God, to encourage and direct sincere souls to secure their interest in the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as did the Apostle Peter, (2 *Peter* i. 13.) But being young, and without assistance, I knew not what I was to do, until Providence opened the door, as I intend to mention in its proper place.

When the time drew near, I prepared myself, and applied for ordination, and obtained a *real* title, at Eglwys Gymmun. I obtained all the necessary and proper credentials, and although I was suspected of being a methodist, yet I was admitted into orders; for my tutor, to whom I wrote the Latin letter before mentioned, did not say a word against me; but, as I was informed, recommended me to the bishop. I then hastened to my parish: my patron, the vicar, had either some preferment or a good curacy in England, and he came home generally only once a year, in order to receive his tithe. The care of the parish therefore devolved upon me; my salary was small, but I kept a school, and at the year's end, I had sufficient to buy a suit of clothes, and to purchase a horse, which was a happy circumstance for me, as

will appear. I was well respected for a long time. I went out with the young ladies a coursing sometimes, which I did more from complaisance than inclination to the sport. In that year the Pretender came to Scotland, and there were great apprehensions of his coming to London, which made many who never prayed before, bend their knees to God. I exhorted my parishioners to meet weekly, particularly those who could do so conveniently, in three or four houses, alternately; and I met such as came together in one place or other every night, and exhorted them and prayed with them. Some thought me "righteous over much," and that my way of proceeding savoured of methodism. Flesh and spirit, we know, never agree, but oppose each other. When a parishioner died, I would not suffer the neighbours to play ridiculous tricks in wakes, as was customary in the days of popish ignorance; but enjoined them to read and pray and sing proper psalms on the occasion.

One Sunday, in church, when I was delivering my sermon, which I then generally wrote in full, I glanced my eye on the congregation, and saw a young man and a young woman playing, and pushing each other; and all the bustle, as I perceived, was occasioned by a posey, that one endeavoured to arrest from the hands of the other. I stopped and paused a little, thinking they would take shame; but as they did not desist immediately, but on the contrary I saw others ready to catch the laugh; I laid my sermon aside, put my hands upon it, addressed myself to the rude offenders, and desired them to consider where they were, and what they came thither for; I told them that God would not take it kind at their hand, to behave in a place of worship in a manner that would be considered as highly improper and unbecoming even in a playhouse. When I had given vent to my passionate zeal, I recollected myself, and began to think of my sermon; but I was too much confused to fix immediately on the precise passage at which I had discontinued my discourse; I found myself obliged

either to speak *extempore*, or to conclude with shame, and to beg pardon ; I therefore resolved to speak as God would enable me, and went through tolerably well, although what was spoken last had no particular reference to what had been delivered before ; and when I came out I heard a whispering or murmur, and the vicar's lady in the midst, "I suspected he was a methodist before," said she, "and to-day he has thrown off the mask." She immediately wrote to her husband, and made out a complaint of a most serious and dark complexion against me. As the result, I was dismissed without having the opportunity of defending myself ; though surely, every supposed offender ought to have the privilege of being put on his defence. But I was not permitted to do so in this instance. My patron, it is true, wrote me a letter, containing the several articles of complaint, which were the following, "Peter Williams, curate of Eglwys Gymmun, stands charged with preaching original sin, justification by faith, and the absolute necessity of regeneration." I replied, "Sir, I am young ; perhaps I may mistake ; I declare, I always thought these articles of faith were the fundamental doctrines of the church of England. Please to let me have your thoughts on these subjects, as I will follow your instructions as far as I can with a clear conscience." I had no answer. The vicar came down about August, and officiated two or three sabbath days, till my year was up ; I begged leave to preach in his hearing, and that he should then judge, whether I was worthy to be continued as his curate or not. He said, he believed I was a methodist, and he would have no more to do with me. I pleaded my license. He said, "You must give it up, or I will exhibit articles against you in the bishop's court." I then went and waited on the bishop ; his lordship, Lord Treverthen, said, "I have heard your character ; you have preached at Llanlleon and Chapel Evan."—"Both are consecrated places, my lord."—"If you behave well for three years, I will give you full ordination." I said, how shall I subsist, my lord ; I cannot dig, I am ashamed to beg.

“Live as you can,” said he; “your humble servant.” I went out of the palace without the offer of meat or drink.

Mr. Griffith Jones, of Llandowvor, told me he had heard there was a curate wanted at Swansea. I resolved to go to that place. I had by that time a horse to carry me, for I had reserved money at Eglwys Cymmun to purchase a horse, as I mentioned before, and horses then sold cheap. Providence still favoured me, and to all appearance appointed me to be an itinerant preacher. I saw the promise in a great measure fulfilled “according to the day, so shall thy strength be.” I had a friend near Llanlleian Chapel, who kept my horse gratis for a month; he was a gentleman farmer, whose daughter, three years afterwards, became my wife.

On my arrival at Swansea I was kindly received. The vicar was gone from home; I was very soon called upon to do duty. I served two churches, one in Welsh, in the Upper Town, and the other in English, in the Lower Town. I was requested to attend a christening, at a particular house; and I considered myself bound in conscience, to behave as becometh the minister of Christ; and not to divert or entertain the company with vain discourse, as is often the case on such occasions, but to follow St. Paul’s advice, “Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but such as is good for the work of edifying, that it may administer grace to the hearers.” Whereat several of the company were displeased, yet some others acknowledged, that Christianity without the Spirit of Christ was like a body without a soul; and forasmuch as we had professedly joined in prayer, that the child then baptized might be regenerated by the Holy Ghost, it was extremely proper to enquire, whether we ourselves knew indeed what was meant by regeneration.

We know it is customary for the mayor or portrieve, to go to church on a set day, after he is elected; attended by the aldermen in that year, and the day happened to be soon after my arrival at Swansea. I read the service, and as

soon as it was over, the gentry arose to go out ; but I beckoned to the clerk, to give out a psalm, which I had before appointed, and instantly quitted the desk, and went into the pulpit, which, when the gentlemen perceived, they sat down and gave proper attention. I proceeded, as I thought, in very regular order to save my credit ; I used a short form of prayer, and had the heads of my sermon written down. My text was, 2 *Chron.* xix. 6, 7. “Ye judge not for man, but for the Lord :” and I pressed the matter home, and told the mayor, &c. that if they did not discharge their duty conscientiously, according to the law of God, the sins of all the dissolute inhabitants of the town, under their jurisdiction, would abide at their door. They had nothing to object ; yet, as I was told, they did not approve of my preaching ; they said, that I was too zealous, and spoke too loud, and that it was their opinion, I should not continue long there. However, they did not invite me to dinner, so everything seemed to confirm what I often thought, that I was called to be an itinerant preacher. Yet I was attached to the church, and resolved to abide in it as long as I could. I staid there a month, at the expiration of which time, when I had finished my duties at the upper church, I came as usual to the other, exactly at eleven o’clock, and the bell tolling, I stepped in, and looking towards the reading desk and pulpit, I saw that the desk was already occupied. I cried, treachery, not audibly, but mentally ; I however walked up to him, and asked him, “Sir, are you to perform duty here to day ?” “Yes,” said he, with a stern look. “Very well,” said I ; “if you please, I will read the service.” “No,” said he ; “I will read myself ;” and he went on ; and I sat down, and remained till the conclusion of all ; but I did not stay to salute my brother clergyman, for I was too full, I went to my employers and asked the reason. “The parishioners do not like you,” said they. “Come to-morrow, and you shall be paid.” There were several friends, lovers of religion, and some preachers, in the town and neighbourhood, with whom

I conversed before and since my dismissal. My preaching was blessed to them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the Lord, and to establish their faith in Jesus Christ.

Soon afterwards I departed from that place, and came to Carmarthen, and there I was informed of the want of a curate at Llan Granog and Llan Dyssilio in Cardiganshire. I hastened thither, and enquired for the person concerned, a feeble old gentleman, who had engaged a curate for his son, a non-resident clergyman, then living in England. I agreed for a quarter of a year. The curate who was there at the time refusing to serve any longer for the same salary. Soon afterwards, I commenced serving the curacy, and continued to officiate unmolested, for the space of two months, and was highly approved of and commended; but the old curate, who only wanted an advance, (as it appeared afterwards), came and applied for the curacy again. He was to resume his office, as soon as my engagement expired. I had gained the affections of the parishioners in general; and there was only one old gentleman from near Llangranog, who was my opponent, and who wanted to thrust me out, and put the other in immediately. About the end of two months, after I had been at Llan Dysilio, in the morning I came to Llan Granog, and found the door was shut, not against me, but against the curate who wanted to supplant me. However, when I came, the supplanter and myself were left by the parishioners to try the issue; we rushed in, with the crowd at our heels, he collared me, and I collared him, for I was young then, though I am old now, and I gained the pulpit, and had much ado to pacify the people. I demanded peace and silence in the name of the king, and it was obtained presently, and I preached powerfully; but never wrestled for the pulpit, or reading desk again in all my life; but resolved to follow the leading of Providence, and preach the Gospel any where, whether in or out, in a field, or on a dunghill, if I could by any means win souls to Christ, to partake of his great salvation. Considering that he raiseth the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the

needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people. (*Psalm cxiii.* 7, 8.) This remarkable passage of Holy Writ, if I had then remembered, I should have declined that shameful contest, that unmanly wrestling for the momentary enjoyment of a tottering desk. Whatever my antagonist gained, or however his salary was advanced, I received no payment. I applied for what was due to me, it is true; but the feeble old gentleman told me, in strong terms, "It is reported that you are a methodist, and I have resolved not to pay you any salary at all."

Soon after this, I heard of an eminent exhorter* in some part of Pembrokeshire. I went to hear him, and to converse with him. I found him holding forth in a mountainous place, not far from Hays Castle; I was delighted with his discourse, and when he concluded, I burst out in prayer, which surprized the congregation, for nobody knew me, except one that came with me as a guide. However, the spirit of faith and love, that breathed in the prayer, knit their hearts to mine, in such an effectual manner, that, as they themselves declared, they considered it as a voice from heaven, calling sinners home, a circumstance which they never forgot. The preacher or exhorter, as he in humility counted himself, took me ^{with} him and brought me to an association of the methodist preachers, on the borders of Pembrokeshire. He recommended me to their notice; I obtained a name amongst them, and with them continued to associate from the twenty-fourth year of my age, until I was seventy and upwards. Soon after my connection with the methodists, I ranged gradually all the country over, studiously observing the hand of Providence, as the Israelites watched the direction of the pillar, that marked their encampments in the wilderness. I learned the contents of that useful lesson, *Jer.* x. 23, by frequent experience, "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps."

* Probably Mr. Howel Davies.—*Ed.*

And I endeavoured to realise what St. Paul informs us he had learned; "in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content." (*Phil.* iv. 11.)

I went to Aborgorlech Chapel. Mr. Daniel Rowlands was to preach there; he, however, put me in the pulpit, and I was enabled to preach in a manner, I hope, acceptable to God, and approved of men, (*Rom.* xiv. 18.) for the Lord set his seal to my ministry, and some were added to the church of Christ, particularly one Hesther, of Glan Rhyd near Brechfa, who commenced that day to be a disciple of Christ, and so continued to the end. (*John* viii. 31. *Mat.* xxiv. 13.) I then went to Langeitho and preached there. At this time I knew but little about the distinction between Arminianism, Baxterianism, Moravianism, &c. yet, as we say, the will was accepted for the deed; and I found by experience, that to speak of Christ crucified for sinners was enough for souls that hungered for righteousness; because such were feasted every day on the dainty dishes of peace and love.

Peace with God, and sins forgiven,
Beloved in Christ, and born for heaven.

From Llangeitho, I was directed to Llanidloes; for, as they told me, there was one man at Llanidloes that loved the Lord Jesus Christ, and would be glad to receive a gospel preacher at his house. His name was Evan Morgan, a shoemaker in the North-street. I went and found the road to Llanidloes; but the day was cloudy, and when I entered the town, I did not understand whether I was going north or east. However, providentially, I was right, though I knew it not. I rode gently and looked anxiously, but could not identify the shoemaker's shop, though I saw one, because I imagined the situation did not answer the description given me; and I turned back as gently, and, indeed, as anxiously as I went, because I knew that people were prejudiced against itinerant preachers, and would be glad and embrace any opportunity of giving wrong direc-

tions to such travellers. It was well for me, the man I sought saw me, and suspected I was one of the despised tribe—one of the troublers of Israel that turned the world upside down. Therefore he watched and observed which way I turned; and he went out to his back yard to see what was become of the stranger. In the mean time I had called at another shoemaker's house, and enquired for Evan Morgan. He answered slyly, "Some call me by that name; what do you want with him?" I was embarrassed in my mind, and knew not what to say, for I had discovered my mistake; but that instant the person I wanted appeared, and exclaimed, "Do you enquire for Evan Morgan." The other swore, and, with a confused look, said, "There he is now." I turned round, and was accosted by my friend, and kindly received, but saw no more of the other who so treacherously attempted to personate Evan Morgan, and thus to deceive me. This I consider as a remarkable instance of Providence; for that perfidious man would have drawn me into a snare, and then if he had found me friendless, would have led me into difficulties, would have given me a bad name, a cradoc, a pest, a disturber of the commonwealth, and what not; and then he would have raised a mob, and bespattered me with eggs, dirt, &c., a treatment which I often afterwards experienced; and on these occasions I have been very glad to be permitted at night to sleep with whole bones. What a thick veil of ignorance still covers the human race even in these enlightened days, as they are called. So great is their aversion to the salvation of their own souls that they will not open their hearts to the Saviour when he knocks at their doors. What wonders of redeeming grace will appear when such rebellious sinners find themselves in the arms of mercy, safely conveyed to glory, and their seats prepared at the right hand of the Saviour!

I pursued my journey, and went through Newtown, not without dropping a sermon here and there, where I found admittance; and sometimes had a friend to bear me com-

pany from one place to another. I called at Newtown, intending to feed my horse, but before I alighted it was whispered I was a cradoc. By what mark they distinguished me from any other man I know not; but they began to be noisy, and threw stones until the fire sparkled on the pavement. I rode off towards Llan Fair Caereinion, which place, though I never had been there, I understood was not far off: I knew a gentleman in that neighbourhood with whom I became acquainted at Llan Drindod Wells. I found his house; and, after a comfortable night's lodging, I was called to preach at his house the next day. Thus I enjoyed a little sunshine in the midst of stormy weather, as soldiers receive some refreshment after a tedious march. But the soldiers of Christ have one privilege above all other soldiers on land or sea—they are sure of conquest at last, and of arriving safe home to reap the fruit of their labour.

My next resting place was at Bala. I was informed that in that little town there were more than two or three who espoused the cause of the gospel, and all of them men of property; one a Scotchman born, married, and settled. And forasmuch as he was a son of peace, I went in and abode there, as Cornelius did. (*Acts* x. 24.) Notice was given to a few friends and kindred of my being there; however more came than were invited, and I preached with my bands on, hoping it would procure respect, by being a badge of my profession. Some of those who came together heard with attention, and others were clamorous and noisy, like the Athenians: (*Acts* xvii. 20.) they wanted to know my business there, and what these strange things meant. I kept the eyes of my mind, and turned my thoughts and contemplation for a text more on the common prayer, than on the sacred scripture; for I knew the words of holy writ were strange to most of my hearers. I then reminded them of their weekly confession—"We have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep," &c. and of their professedly earnest prayer—"Lord have mercy upon us, and incline

our hearts to keep this law." I observed the propriety and shewed the necessity of considering, and personally applying these things to their hearts. Some approved of the exhortation, and others treated the whole with scorn. Some of the mob were very mischievous ; they threw a stone of perhaps three pounds weight into my chamber, when I was going to bed, but it did not touch me. " Nothing shall hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain." (*Isaiah* xi. 9.)

From Bala I went to Lleyn, a district in Carnarvonshire ; having heard that there were a few there who received the gospel. I preached as usual to numerous congregations, for the novelty of preaching in the open air, and that by a clergyman, brought many together, and amongst others a gentlewoman of property was effectually converted, and acknowledged me as her spiritual father as long as she lived.

I next went to Anglesea, having received intelligence of a preacher, William Prichard, Plas Penmynydd, removed from Carnarvonshire to that county, whom I found after having made some inquiry respecting him. He gave me a dismal account of the bitter prejudices entertained there against itinerant preachers and their adherents. And he informed me that one had held forth on a common adjoining a high road, where a turbulent congregation had assembled, and the multitude divided ; some would hear what "the babbler said," and others would mob him out of the county. A battle ensued, and blood was shed ; till it carried the dust before it, as we sometimes see when a heavy shower of rain is poured from the clouds. However, I ventured to preach on the top of a hill ; and here and there, wherever I could get five or six to bear me company ; and people would flock together from all parts, crying one to another, " One of the Pennau Crynion is come to preach to us !" I began to speak as soon as possible, and would not wait for many to assemble ; for I found, by happy experience, that if I could gain the ears of my hearers, I should soon gain their hearts ; and that they would seldom delight to persecute

again. So there were some civilized from time to time; the poorer sort, and some of the middle rank, would offer me a lodging, and entertain me with such things as they had.

In these journeyings, I providentially met a friend, who was second son to a gentleman of property, and who had been enlightened by the preaching of Mr. Howel Harris, and being at his own disposal, that is, independent, he became my companion, and travelled with me to many places; he was not daunted by persecution, but bore the cross with patience and resignation. He introduced me to the notice of friends whom I knew not, and led me to places where I was most likely to be peaceably admitted, and especially where the superstitious counted the ground holy, and persecution ungodly and unbecoming, such as the ruins of old chapels.

We were riding through a town, then hostile, but now friendly to the gospel, and had almost got out of it, through the midst of a rude rabble of mockers and scoffers, who endeavoured to frighten our horses, with bags of stones tied to the end of a pole, and well shaken so as to jingle; but there was little or no pelting with mud, &c. Near the end of the town, however, a shoemaker started from his stall, took up a large handful of dirt or mud from the street, it being in wet weather, and flung it in my face, till both my eyes were closed, and I was blinded as it were for a moment; for I could see no more than a blind man. However, I scraped it off as well as I could, and began to peep out, and soon found I could see my way as well as ever. Then I rejoiced and was glad, forasmuch as I was counted worthy to be persecuted for the sake of Christ and his gospel.

I then went to Trefryw in Carnarvonshire; but I did not preach there, for the mob would not permit me. It was given out rather too indiscreetly, that the Reverend Peter Williams was to preach there at such a time: it should have been said to pass through, and, if acceptable, would give them a sermon when church service was over. But the poor ignorant though zealous friends of religion, it seems,

imagined that preachers of the gospel had power to stop the mouths of lions; I mean, to pacify our inveterate enemies, and demand, or rather command peace at their own option. At least, having tasted of the sweetness of the gospel themselves, they wished their neighbours to be partakers of the same blessing. However, they never thought there was, in the hearts of those who call themselves Christians, so much inveterate enmity and malice against the doctrine of Christ, as to persecute those who preach forgiveness of sins in his name every where both to Jews and Gentiles. Indeed, the mob did not beat and abuse me as was expected. They were headed by two gentlemen, who, though they had drank freely, carried a little gentility about them, and in a great measure restrained the madness of the mob. They kept me immured in a public house, amidst scores of scoffers, from six in the evening till two in the morning, like Samson amongst the Philistines, to make sport for them. They would compel me to drink, they would ask me many questions concerning my education, my doctrine, and my followers, and what was my text that morning, "If you please to attend, gentlemen, I will relate the whole, the text and sermon also." Then one of the gentlemen would cry, "Silence: he is now going to preach, to your reformation." Then aha, aha, and a loud laugh ensued, and the same pranks were played over again and again. I called for victuals, and begged for a bed. They laughed, and some answered satirically, You shall have victuals, and you shall have a bed presently. I expected I was to be turned out and stoned to death in the dark, and there would be an end of me. Yet I resigned myself to God, and continued in mental prayer, for my hypocritical mockers (*Job* xvii. 2. and *Ps.* xxv. 16.) would not allow me to pray or preach in an audible manner. And indeed I was much grieved, because I was obliged to hear their vile swearing, and corrupt communication. However, I had no reason to complain of hardship, for I had more favour shewn me than my Lord and Master, for I was released before the cock crew. The gentlemen ordered the

innkeeper to give me meat and drink, and they were so generous as to pay the bill in full; but they charged me not to preach in this village: they mounted their horses, and the mob filed off about half past two o'clock. My companion, who had left me in the confusion when we were surrounded by the mob, first met the man of the house, told him who and where he was. The innkeeper informed me privately, and said he would come in when the mob was dispersed. He told me, also, the horses and all the bags, and everything were safe; and so it came to pass.

We went to bed, and I slept about two or three hours; but my companion could not sleep: we got up, thanked God for our deliverance, and prepared for our journey. But one of the company, who had staid behind, came to me, and insisted on my preaching to him and some of the neighbours, who, he said, were desirous to hear; he pretended to be a friend. He then demanded my letters of orders, which I had shewn to the gentlemen in the course of the night. I dared not to refuse any thing that he asked; I gave them to him, he gave me a stern look, refused to return them, and marched off. I and my companion mounted our horses without preaching, and went to another place, about seven miles distant, where I knew some friends, as I had been there before. We were then happy; and counted our deliverance as wonderful as Daniel's from the lion's den.

When we had been there about two hours, a young woman on horseback came and enquired for such travellers at the door; she gave me to know that she was daughter to the man who had robbed me of my letters of orders that morning. It seems the man had boasted of his noble act as he thought it, and had been informed of the danger he was in if prosecuted by law, and therefore he sent with all speed, and desired me to take them back."

Here the autobiography closes. The account of the remaining part of my grandfather's life must therefore be imperfect.

It may, however, be stated that he travelled considerably more than he has himself mentioned ; and that he laboured faithfully and diligently in his Master's vineyard. He was deterred by no inclemency of weather, and he deemed it an honour to suffer persecution in the cause of Christ. He possessed a robust frame of body and a resolute mind, and he was therefore the better enabled to endure labour and self-denial. He proved a blessing to thousands in the comparatively benighted age in which he lived : his talents were of the highest order ; they particularly qualified him for instilling truth and gospel light into the ignorant minds of his hearers. As a preacher, he was strikingly animated and energetic, and he won his way to the hearts of the people as much by the persuasiveness of his manner as by the force of his arguments and the beauty of his imagery ; the sum and substance of his addresses being the miserable state of man by nature, and his redemption through Christ. His Welsh Annotations on the Bible will be remembered and prized with grateful fondness by his countrymen while the language of Cambria exists.

He had long expressed a wish that God would please to raise up some person who would evangelize his beloved country ; but no one seemed to others more fitted for such a task than himself.

At the period in which he lived, attempts were made to extirpate the Welsh language, by introducing English schools and English Bibles, to the systematic exclusion of the Welsh ; the consequence was, that the Christian profession of the peasantry abated, and their morals became corrupted. This was a source of deep sorrow to my grandfather. For this reason he set about his Annotations with little or no assistance, and with still less encouragement ; his only motive being love to God and to the souls of men. Trusting in the Lord he went on with it courageously, and to the wonder and rejoicing of all, completed his task on the 22nd of May, 1770. This was the first Welsh Commentary that was ever published, and the first edition of the

Scriptures ever printed in the Principality. It went through several editions. The first, reached 3600 copies ; the second, 6400, in 1775 ; the third, 4000, in 1796. But before the last edition was completed, the author entered into his rest.

In 1773, he published his Welsh Concordance, which was hailed as a great boon ; and at the present day it is esteemed a work of uncommon labour and utility. In 1790 he edited, by subscription, 4000 copies of Cann's Bible, with additional marginal references and notes. Here, however, an unpleasant tale must be told. His brethren, the Calvinistic methodists, had promised to patronize the work, and had given their names as subscribers towards defraying the expenses ; but just as it was proceeding from the press, they, in a body, withdrew their support, and left the whole burden of the publication to the editor, assigning as their reason, a change in the editor's sentiments as to the doctrine of the Trinity ; although such was by no means the fact. They left him to his own resources. Not contented with this, they shut their doors against him, and excluded him from their assemblies. By this cruel transaction he lost six or seven hundred pounds ; and, what is more, it contributed to shorten his days, for it never ceased to oppress his spirits.*

The following letter speaks for itself.

“ Gelli, Friday Evening,
August 5th, 1796.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ From every appearance, the next Post will bring you an account of my poor father's dissolution.

“ On my arrival here yesterday fortnight, I was grieved to observe that he was visibly altered for the worse, upon which I immediately consulted Dr. Davis, the most eminent of the faculty in this country. He told me his apprehensions at once ; that he feared my father's constitution was

* This melancholy circumstance called forth a beautiful letter of condolence from my father to his brother. It has been printed in a Welsh periodical magazine.

breaking up, as he expressed it; but that he would do all in his power for him. My father and myself waited on the Doctor the following day, and he prescribed for him; but from my father's natural aversion to medicine, he refused taking any; at least, he did not comply with the medical directions. His symptoms are a cough, shortness of breath, an expectoration of a vast quantity of white glutinous phlegm, and his legs swell much. The only nourishment he has taken since I have been here are cocoa, tea, broth, wine and water, sago, and panada. He preached at Carmarthen last Sunday fortnight, and at Llanlluan last Sunday se'nnight. At the former place he preached in a most powerful and impressive manner to a crowded congregation, and at the latter, the most callous and lukewarm would have shrunk beneath the strokes of his eloquence, for which he was always so remarkable: but what added much to the solemnity of the scene was, that he spoke and looked like a dying man; and the whole congregation were in tears, thinking that they should never see him again.

"He still rises early, or rather did rise early until within the last few days; he follows up his usual studies to the last. He is extremely pious, and entirely resigned under all his afflictions. He continued family prayer until he could no longer articulate. On Sunday last he asked Bowen, who was present, to pray, telling him, that he was unable on account of the asthma. "*Tra yr oeddwn yn galh*" said he, "*fy hyfryd waith oedd nesau at orseddfainge y Grâs.*"*

"Yesterday, when my mother brought him some flummery and wine, he, though tottering with weakness, and not very intelligible before, stood up to ask a blessing, and uttered the following words as distinctly as ever I heard him in my life: "*Anwyl Arglwydd! a gaf fi'r fraint un-*

* As long as it was in my power it was my delightful employment to approach the throne of grace.

waith yn ychwaneg O nesau O dy flaen, a Nefaru wrthyt a deisyf dy fendith. Beth a ddywedaf? Rhyfedd wyt ti y'mhob peth ty yma I golledigaeth ag uffern. Dysg i mi i ymostwng i dy ewyllys, a dywedyd gyda'r hen Eli, yr Arglwydd yw efe, gwnaed fel mae da yn ei olwg ”*

“ My poor mother is in great grief, and far from well. I fear she will not long survive him.†

“ I have proposed selling the Chapel in Water Street, in order to pay his debts.‡ Have you any objection? The Methodists have offered £250 for it. The profits of the large Bibles will pay the debt contracted by the small, and £200 more will, perhaps, clear the whole. He has made his will in favour of my mother, of course, and has left all to her for her life, and the remainder at her death to go to David Humphreys § and his children.

“ I have watched my father night and day ever since I came home, and a more heavenly state of mind I never witnessed. It is indeed a privilege to be here. May I profit by it.

“ ‘ I went on my knees to pray to my dear Redeemer, before my departure,’ said my poor father one day, ‘ but I was so weak that I could scarcely get up.’

“ A neighbouring clergyman paid him a visit a day or two ago, and the only part of his conversation that savoured of seriousness was advice to my father not to be dejected, or, as he inelegantly expressed himself, ‘ not to let his heart go down.’ ‘ It can't go far, Sir, for there is a *Rock under it*,’ was my father's comprehensive and emphatic reply.

* Beloved Lord ! Should I have the privilege of once more coming before thee, to address thee and to implore thy blessing, what shall I say ? worshipful thou art in every thing on this side of perdition and hell. Teach me to bow to thy will, and to say with Eli of old, “ It is the Lord, let him do with me what seemeth good in his sight.”

† She survived him, however, twenty-six years.

‡ He would not have been in debt but for the unfeeling conduct of the Calvinistic Methodists.

§ His son in law.

“The limits of my paper confine me. My next letter, I fear, will bring you bad news. I am yours affectionately,
“PETER WILLIAMS.”

“The Rev. Mr. Williams,
213 Oxford Street, London.”

Three days after this letter was written, my grandfather breathed his last. The following is a literal translation of the inscription on his tombstone, in the churchyard of Llandeveilog, Carmarthenshire :

“Beneath, lie the remains of the Rev. Peter Williams, late of Gelli Lednais, in this parish. His whole life was devoted to the temporal and spiritual good of his countrymen. He published, for their benefit, three editions of the Welsh Quarto Bible, with Annotations on every chapter.

“He also published an edition of an octavo Bible, and a Welsh Concordance ; as well as a number of small tracts ; most of these were in Welsh, for which it may truly be said, he received in return only ingratitude and persecution.

“He continued for 53 years a faithful and zealous minister of the Gospel, and died rejoicing in God, his Saviour, August 8th, 1796, in the 77th year of his age.

“For it was not an enemy that reproached me ; then I could have borne it ; neither was it he that hated me, that magnified himself against me ; but they were mine acquaintance, with whom I took sweet counsel, and walked unto the house of God in company.”

Page iv. line 14. “The only daughter of Mr. Morgan Morgans.”

Of the early history of this estimable woman little is now known. The name of her father, who lived at Gorse, in the parish of Llanarthney, was Morgan *Jenkins*, and not Morgan *Morgans* as is stated in the Memoir. Her mother was the daughter of a beneficed clergyman, and for those days, was highly educated. She was so well acquainted with

Latin as to be able to examine my father in that language when he visited her in the holidays. She was moreover distinguished for her good sense and piety. My grandmother also received, what was then considered to be a liberal education; she inherited the good qualities of her mother, and was eminent in those meek, unostentatious virtues which adorn the Christian character. In short, as a mother, a wife, and a friend, she could not be surpassed. In several very trying circumstances she gave indisputable evidence that she was no unworthy helpmate to her pious and revered husband. Two of her grandsons resided with her at Gelly for some months after their father's death, in the years 1820, and 1821, and they uniformly received from her the attention and kindness of an indulgent mother. As her eyes had latterly become dim, she was fond of having a chapter in the Bible from her husband's edition read out to her, a task which generally fell to the lot of one or other of her grandsons. She seemed to bear constantly in mind the apostolic precept, "Follow peace with all men." She would sometimes express her surprise that at her advanced age she should be spared while others, in her estimation far more useful, had been taken away. "Although I know it is wrong," she would say, "to look behind the veil, yet I cannot help thinking, that I have been left in order to befriend poor Eliezer's sons." This seemed to be the case; for she provided them with a home, when they had no other asylum; as soon as they were old enough to go out into the world, she obtained her release.

Her death was thus recorded in one of the publications of the day :

"March 8th, 1822, departed this life, at Gelly, near Carmarthen, aged 97, Mary, relict of the Rev. Peter Williams, author of the first Welsh Annotations on the Bible. She was a person of an amiable and benevolent disposition, strict integrity, and unaffected piety. Her acts of charity and kindness were numerous, but at the same time unosten-

tatious. In short, she was a Christian in deed as well as in profession. Having had the inestimable privilege of being brought up under the care and superintendence of pious parents, and afterwards of being united to a man of distinguished talents and eminent piety, her growth in grace and her improvement in every Christian virtue, knowlege, and experience, were known and appreciated by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance. But what added still greater value to all her Christian graces was this, that her humility, self-denial, and self-abasement were remarkable; and she "counted all things but loss, that she might win Christ," and frequently declared, that, she considered herself as "less than the least" of all the disciples and followers of Jesus Christ. She retained all her faculties to the last, and was perfectly resigned to the Divine Will. She was buried in the same grave with her esteemed husband, in the churchyard of Llandeveilog near Carmarthen."

Page v. line 18. "More than ordinary degree of bodily vigour."

A gentleman named Wilson and my father were walking home, in Essex, one night, when they were suddenly arrested in their progress by two powerful men, who demanded their money and their lives. While the taller and stronger of the two footpads was preparing to use his bludgeon, my father prostrated him with a blow of his fist, which, as was afterwards said, "an ox could scarcely have received without the same humiliation;" he then closed with his ruffian assailant, who, after a severe struggle of some seconds, was completely subdued. Mr. Wilson was not so fortunate, being considerably inferior in weight and strength; for he had been overpowered by his antagonist at an early period of the affray, and was now shouting lustily for assistance. My father instantly responded to the call, dragging his prisoner along by the throat. As soon how-

ever as he applied himself to the second aggressor, the first made one more desperate effort and got off, leaving his neck-cloth and the flap of his jacket in my father's hands.

Page vii. line 11. "To abandon altogether the sports of the field."

Another cause, perhaps, that induced him to discontinue field sports was this. He had one day just returned from shooting, and unguardedly brought his loaded gun into the house, and deposited it in an unsafe place, when one of his younger brothers took it up and presented it at his sister, as she was sitting at her work. She providentially stooped down at the instant, and the charge passed over her head and lodged in the chimney piece. The occurrence was attended with nothing more than momentary alarm, but it was never forgotten.

Page vii. line 23. "Rev. E. Evans, an eminent Welsh scholar," &c.

Mr. Evans was born at Cynhawdref, Cardiganshire, about the year 1730, and was entered member of Jesus College, Oxford, towards the beginning of 1751. After leaving College he officiated as curate in several places, more particularly at Llanfair Talhaiarn, in Denbighshire, Towyn, in Merionethshire; and Newick, in Kent.

He was eminent as an antiquary, a poet, and a divine. He had always applied himself unremittingly to the cultivation of Welsh literature, and employed much of his leisure in transcribing ancient manuscripts, of which he left behind him about a hundred volumes of various sizes.

In the year 1764 he published a quarto volume, which is still in high repute, entitled "*Dissertatio de Bardis*," containing specimens of Welsh poetry with translations. His other publications were an English poem called the "*Love of our Country*;" several Welsh compositions, which

appeared in "Diddanweh Teuluaidd," and two volumes of sermons from Tillotson and others, translated by him into Welsh.

Having spent the most valuable part of his life in clerical and literary pursuits, without being able to procure the smallest promotion in the church, he lost his fortitude, and, melancholy to relate, fell into a habit of drinking, which at times produced symptoms of derangement. This precluded him from every chance of gaining new friends to replace those who ought to have rewarded his merit.

He inherited a small freehold in Cardiganshire, which, in order to raise money upon it to support himself at the university, he conveyed over to a younger brother. He died in 1790,* in the 58th year of his age.

All the manuscripts and books possessed by Mr. Evans at his death became the property of Paul Paton, Esq. of Plâsgwyn, Anglesey, in consideration of an annuity of twenty pounds, which that gentleman had some years before settled upon him.

The following anecdote of Mr. Evans has been related to me by a kind and intelligent friend, † who heard it from my father, when he was visiting North Wales in 1814.

"While my father was in his study, at Mongewell, one Saturday evening, he observed a tall uncouth figure, with a bag on his back, pass the window. From a peculiar stoop in his shoulders, and the awkwardness of his gait, he thought he somewhat resembled his old friend 'Jeuan Brydydd Hîr.' In a minute a knock was heard at the door, and an enquiry made for Mr. Williams; my father went to the door, the servant considered the stranger too shabbily dressed to be shown into the parlour. It was indeed no other than the great antiquary himself, who was travelling, he said, in search of a curacy. My father was happy to see him, and gave

* The Rev. P. B. Williams in his "Tourist's Guide," dates Mr. Evans's death in 1789.

† The Rev. Morris Hughes, P. C. of St. Anne's.

him that welcome which is so characteristic of ancient Britons when they meet in a foreign land. The next morning Mr. Evans offered his assistance at church, and took part of the duty. After service, my father and his friend were invited by Dr. Barrington to dinner; and so pleased was the bishop with Mr. Evans's society, that he asked him to dine with him on the following day also. Judge Barrington and (I believe) Admiral Barrington, and a large landed proprietor in the neighbourhood, were of the party. The conversation turned upon antiquities and ancient literature. Mr. Evans, after a few glasses of wine, became very talkative and agreeable, and he was listened to with much delight. My father, who well knew his friend's unfortunate propensity, moved off, and the Judge followed, requesting my father to wait a little, as they were all enchanted with Mr. Evans's conversation; inquiring, at the same time, what could be such a man's history, and that they must have more of his company. The squire's carriage was already at the door to take some of the party away, and they separated. They met, however, once or twice more, and Mr. Evans became more and more the favourite of his new friends. In fact, there were few topics with which he was unacquainted, and with which the power of his great mind could not readily and successfully grapple.

"The morning came when Mr. Evans was to take his departure. He looked low and pensive; and after breakfast asked permission to 'return thanks,' which he did in a most impressive manner. Then, addressing my father, with his hands firmly clasped and his eyes filled with tears, 'I assure you, sir,' said he, 'I know not when, where, or how to get another meal.' He hastily left the house, on his way to London, in search of a curacy; and my father never saw him afterwards."

Page xvii. line 19. "Galloway House, June 22, 1785."

For the following letters, which, as they chiefly relate to this period of my father's life, seem to find here their appropriate place, I am indebted to the kindness of my uncle, who gave them to me a short time before his death: they are illustrative of the interest which my father took in the improvement and the happiness of a brother, to whom, through life, he was most warmly and tenderly attached.

"MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, April 27th, 1786.

"I AM happy to hear you are well, and happier still that you are industrious. Mr. Hughes* gives me room to hope that you are not at College to no purpose. Continue to merit his esteem. He has been led to suppose, from the direction of my letters, which pass through the hands of Lord Galloway, who is at present attending his parliamentary duties, that I am in town; when you have an opportunity, I will thank you to undeceive him. Had I been in London, you, of course, would have been furnished with unquestionable evidence of the fact, as no impediments, excepting such incidents as 'flesh is heir to,' should have prevented me from renewing my acquaintance with the 'glistening spires' of our Alma Mater, or have deprived me of the pleasure of your society.

"Did you receive my two last letters, one under cover of Lord Galloway, and the other in the ordinary course? I addressed you as 'Commensarius,' by way of distinction; for, not being very well acquainted with the domestics of the establishment, I was apprehensive, if I had written *Batteler*, of its being mistaken for *Butler*. I well remember the rooms in No 3; but, pray, do yours face Exeter College, or Jes. Coll. Lane? I resided myself some time in those opposite the latter. The fewer acquaintances you have the

* Afterwards Dr. Hughes, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.—*Editor*.

better, if you can preserve a cheerful mind. Your reliance on the providence of God will enable you to do this, while the enjoyment of your studies, and your walks amidst the beauties of nature, will supply you with ample food for contemplation and entertainment. Few things require more necessary caution and discernment, or betray more the character of the man, than the selection of what in secular language are called *friends*. As in the world, so at college, there exist more fools than wise men; the former are best known by their gay attire, and their unmeaning and affected air in the day time, and by the loudness of their voices, and the extravagance and frequency of their revels at night. Avoid such companions as you would a contagion, and select those who, by their diligence in study, and the integrity of their lives, will minister to your improvement. I recommend to your frequent perusal the 'Proverbs of Solomon' and 'Ecclesiastes,' which are rich stores of wisdom, and which may be of infinite use to both your temporal and your eternal interest.

"Consider that we are placed here by an all wise God, that it is impious and cowardly to desert our station, or murmur at His providence, (remember the waters of Meribah!) that it is our duty, whoever falls, to strain every nerve for the protection of ourselves as well as others at the post assigned us. Knowledge and learning, combined with religion, are the best means of being useful in the world; and, when exercised with a humble and prayerful mind, may be expected to be watered with the heavenly dew of God's blessing. Some great and good man has remarked that 'study without prayer is atheism,' and that 'prayer without study is presumption.' Make a proper use of the precious time allotted you, and offer daily addresses to the God of all wisdom for the success of your exertions. 'Paul planted and Apollos watered, but God gave the increase.' Complain not of the world, which was a paradise until man polluted it; but grieve for its inhabi-

tants, and be thankful it is not past redemption. Is it not bought with a Saviour's blood? and made the road to happier mansions? Is it not the laboratory, if I may so call it, in which we are prepared for better things? That you and I may be of the blessed number is the fervent prayer of,

My dear Peter, your very affectionate brother,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

“MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, March 28, 1786.

“YOUR letters of late bear evident marks of rapid improvement. Your language is more correct, and your writing considerably neater than it used to be. It is not beneath a man of sense to pay a little attention to these things, indeed it indicates idleness or indifference to neglect them; the one detrimental to the individual himself, the other slighting to his friends. The external appearance of our letters, as well as our persons, may, without censure surely, be attended to; the fault is, when, through our solicitude about them, we neglect more important things; when, to write a fair hand, we are inattentive to what distinguishes us from the illiterate, the elegance of our diction; and, when to adorn our bodies, we forget the cultivation of our minds. In your present situation you can hardly bestow too much attention on either of these, provided that attention be in proportion to their importance. The improvement of your mind, I feel convinced, you will not neglect; to facilitate this you will listen with unremitting care to the instructions of your tutors. When unavoidably hindered, you should endeavour to retrieve the loss by double diligence in your own apartments. Never go to lecture without first studying it over carefully—for the subject is generally known, in order to make yourself master of it; and while you endeavour to clothe your ideas in the best language, be sure that you express them in a plain perspicuous manner, which, by habit, will soon become natural to you. But do not satisfy yourself with mere attendance on lectures, unless you thoroughly

comprehend the sense and meaning. Review the instructions in your own mind, peruse some authors on the same subject, and note down the distinctions and omissions, if any, or whatever you may consider as most particularly worthy of recollection, as well as the result of your own reasonings, which, at a future period, you may apply to some use, and improve to further advantage.

“The public lectures in hall, in the morning, should likewise be attended ; and, as you will there be in the presence of many close observers, and, perhaps, of some few juvenile critics, you should be well prepared in case you should be ‘put on.’ Always provide yourself with the necessary books ; and let no opportunity of improving yourself escape you.

“Be very attentive to quantity, if you would avoid ridicule ; use a Gradus at first, and mark the words where you cannot trust to your memory. The better and more scholar-like method will be to practise versification, which, besides making you acquainted with quantity, will give you a taste for composition. You will require a few lines weekly at the end of your theme ; these should be well done, and should bear an epigrammatic turn ; such a book as ‘Owen’s Epigrams’ may be of some use on such occasions, not for the purpose of *plagiarism*, but for *imitation*. ‘Martial,’ I suppose, you are master of. Let all your exercises bear marks of industry. If lectured in logic, you should read ‘Watts’ on that science very attentively ; if in ethics, ‘Hutchinson’s Moral Philosophy,’ and ‘Xenophon’s Memorabilia.’ You will oblige me much by giving me a specimen of your abilities in Latin composition. Suppose you render Pope’s ‘Dying Christian’ into elegiac verse, and send it to me as soon as you are able.

“I am happy to find you in so good a disposition ; your filial affection does you credit. But I hope my poor mother is now resigned, and no longer repines at the dispensations of Providence. John at least, in the absence of ourselves and our good father, is a sympathizing and affectionate

companion. My wishes are often similar to your own in this respect; I eagerly anticipate the period when I may administer to her comfort; but we must wait the Almighty's own time. The more diligent you are, and the more reconciled to a college life, and to your loss, the more capable you will be of alleviating the sorrows of your mother, and of adding to the gratification of your friends. We know not how long we may live, and it would be in vain for us to inquire, were it desirable; it will be enough for us to consider the shortness and uncertainty of life, and to bear fruit in proportion to the advantages we have received; not to bury our talents in the earth, not to encumber the ground like barren fig trees, but to bring forth the good fruit of substantial holiness, that we may in due time be gathered as God's wheat into his garner. It is the language of despondency to say, that after all our exertions to attain learning we are not the happier, and we may die disappointed of our hopes. Learning, when exempt from vain conceit, and when founded on Christian humility—otherwise it frequently proves but a curse to the possessor—is one of the means which our Heavenly Father blesses for the benefit of mankind; it is the harvest which, well managed, furnishes the most valuable part of man with a plenteousness that may become eminently useful. The husbandman may sometimes find his hopes frustrated; but must he neglect to commit the grain to the ground because he fears an unfruitful season, or because an unseasonable storm may desolate his fields? No. He performs his duty of sowing the seed, and leaves the result to a wisdom infinitely higher than his own. Do you therefore, in faith, exercise your talents, of whatever degree they may be, for God knows how to apply them, and 'in due time you will reap if you faint not.' It is our business to live so as to be useful to others, '*non nobis nati sumus,*' and be assured no life is pleasing to the Author of our being but such as is beneficial to man; it is, above all, our duty, while we are not indifferent to the necessary affairs of life, to be prepared for death as if it were already in view;

that is to say, to be always on our watch, like the wakeful sentinel. The 38th No. of the 'Adventurer' is well worth your reading.

"Your sense of religious duty will, I trust, impress these things on your mind; and you will find, that the improvement of our hearts is as much more momentous than the cultivation of our minds, as the improvement of the mind is than the decoration of the person; but I have said the less of this, because you seem to be sensible of what I would wish to say.

"Give me a proof of your religious disposition, by bearing with resignation so great a loss as that of an invaluable sister, and by submitting with becoming humility to the dispensations of Providence. No person has had a greater loss in her death than myself, and no one more deeply feels the pangs of separation. The smitten heart will bleed; the workings of nature will have vent; but I am persuaded that it is incumbent on me to cultivate the disposition of a follower of Christ, and to yield up with gratitude what has been given in love.

"I hope that the new objects you daily see will attract your attention, and that the useful and sacred subjects you are studying will heal your mind. If you want money, write to my father, who has some of mine in his hands, and he will send you what you require. I have that opinion of you, that you will not ask for more than is absolutely necessary. Do not be dejected; assume the man, and act the part of a rational Christian. Let me soon know how you spend your time, and who your companions are: and be ever convinced of the sincerity of, my dear Peter, your very affectionate brother,

E. WILLIAMS."

"P. S. Although I have written more at large than I at first intended, excuse the haste and carelessness with which it has been done."

“ MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, October, 1786.

“ YOUR studies, I have no doubt, are prosecuted with your usual diligence and perseverance. The vacation is a favourable season for cultivating the acquaintance of the muses, and the Bodleian * is not a bad levee room in which to get introduced to them. Your principal object, though, should be to make yourself thorough master of the classics, excellent editions of which you will find in the library. All those of them with which you are not acquainted, should be now perused with attention and with critical nicety. Ancient and Modern History may keep pace with your classical studies, and will form a good hand-maid to wait on the Latin or Grecian muse. ‘Rollin’s Ancient History’ (though I have often perused it before) I am now reading, with great pleasure, with my young pupils. In the library you will find among the modern historians, Robertson and Gibbon, both of whom are worthy of your attention. The ‘Decline of the Roman Empire’ will lead you to the dark ages, and ‘Charles V.’ will guide you out of them. There is a ‘History of Europe in a series of Letters,’ which will serve, in some measure, to fill up the chasm between the two. The histories of America and Scotland, by the same author, will afford you much entertainment. I say nothing of the History of England, by Hume and Smollett, taking it for granted that you are now sufficiently acquainted with its interesting contents. Whatever branch of literature you engage in, forget not to study it critically, by availing yourself of every geographical and biographical assistance that may render you familiar with the localities and the individuals to whom reference is occasionally made. To peruse history without good maps is like reading Euclid without referring to the ‘*pictures*,’ as a *fellow* once called geometrical figures. But I have no doubt that you read judiciously, that you conduct your studies in a systematical manner,

* His brother was sub-librarian of the Bodleian at this period.

and that you do not travel through authors without remembering the *cui bono*—without always having an object in view, therefore what I have been scribbling, in so magisterial and pedantic a strain must be to you unnecessary, and must appear little better than the officious interference of paternal regard.

“Let me hear from you frequently; tell me particularly how you proceed *sub umbrâ academi*. Your proposal of writing once for my twice is certainly very good, for *one* letter of *yours* is confessedly worth *two* of mine. But you should have heard from me sooner had I not been from home. Two of my pupils and I have been on a tour through the country, and on a voyage round the greater part of the Scottish coast. Among other places we visited the Isle of Man. I would have sent you my journal if I had thought it worth your perusal.

“My mind is at present engaged on a subject in which your exertions may be of service to me. I want you to make a search amongst the MSS. in the Bodleian library, as there probably may be some which can elucidate the pedigree of the Stewart family. Lord Galloway has some idea of claiming the title of Duke of Lennox. He is inquiring into the history of his ancestors, as if he had such an object in view. The Duke of Richmond has the title at present; he derives it from a natural son of Charles II. on whom that monarch conferred it. The hereditary right is vested in the remains of the Pretender’s family, now at Rome, and after their demise (a period perhaps not very distant), it will revert, as is generally supposed, to the Galloway family. The origin of the family, to give you an idea of what I wish you to inquire into, is, in some measure, Welsh. Fleance, the son of Bancho, fled into Wales, from the tyranny of Shakespeare’s Macbeth, and married Nesta the daughter of Griffith ap Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales. The issue of this marriage was Walter, surnamed the Steward, who coming to Scotland and quelling a rebellion in the Isles, with great address, was so well recommended to the

reigning monarch, that he was created steward of that part of the country, and in process of time his descendants were created high stewards of Scotland; from which official appellation it is conjectured that the present family name is derived. At least many authors suppose so, and Camden among others. Sir John Stewart of Bronkill, a descendant of Walter Stewart, had several sons. The second son was ancestor of the Darnley branch of the Stewart family, and of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, whose male line is now nearly extinct. The third son was ancestor of the Galloway family, to whom the title of Duke of Lennox will revert in case of failure of male issue in the Darnley branch. But one of the descendants * of this son (a son or grandson of his, I believe) left no issue male; but his daughter, Marion Stewart, inherited his estate, and married her cousin, John Stewart of Jedburgh, from which marriage, in a direct line, is descended the present Earl of Galloway. The fourth son of Sir John Stewart of Bronkyll, above mentioned, was William Stewart of Jedworth, the father of Sir William Stewart, the father of John Stewart, who married the above Marion, as has been already remarked; I write from memory, and therefore am not certain of *Christian* names. Now, the question is, whether this last named John Stewart was the eldest son of Sir William Stewart of Jedworth; if he was, the two branches of Galloway and Jedworth are united, and the claim of the Galloway family to the title of Duke of Lennox is incontrovertible.

“I have, at my Lord Galloway’s request, drawn up an account of the family from the books in this library. The authors I consulted were ‘Douglas’s Peerage of Scotland,’ the ‘Rudiments of Honour,’ ‘Nisbet’s Heraldry,’ and ‘Anderson’s Genealogical Tables.’ His Lordship seemed pleased with my manuscript, as far as it goes; but it is merely a sketch. If you can find any manuscript among

* Sir Walter Stewart of Dalswinton, son of Sir John Stewart.

Debrett’s Peerage.

Dudley's collections, Rawlinson's, or any other in the Bodleian, or Jesus College library, upon the subject, you will oblige me much by transmitting me a short extract. Some old deeds of gift to religious houses, by the introduction of an individual's name and lineage, may assist you a little, if such can be found. But perhaps you will exclaim with Sidney, I am no herald to inquire of men's pedigrees, it sufficeth me to know of their virtues. However, write soon, and herald or no herald, I remain your ever affectionate brother,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

“Mr. Peter Williams,
Jesus Coll. Oxon.

“MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, Jan. 22, 1787.

“You are now, I suppose, as deeply engaged as ever, as I find your term has commenced. I cannot, therefore, hope to hear much at length from you. However, if you can steal just ten minutes from your more profitable engagements,—and mark, this will be no *crime*, for ‘procrastination’ only ‘is the thief of time’—even a few lines will be acceptable, merely to inform me that you are well, and that you have not forgotten me. I am gratified to learn that you have made some progress in the mathematics, as you will not find it so advantageous to attend lectures on natural philosophy until you are a tolerable proficient in them. The solution of many problems in physics requires a competent knowledge of Geometry and Algebra; a portion of what you hear will be lost upon you unless you are acquainted, in some degree, with those sciences. Should you attend Hornsby on astronomy, a decent knowledge of trigonometry will be requisite; my opinion is, therefore, that you had better defer becoming one of his pupils, until you are possessed of those preliminary branches of learning which may enable you to leave him with advantage. I know not whether Williamson delivers lectures at present on Euclid, trigonometry, &c. In my time he was attended in a room under the museum

by a very considerable number of pupils, and he varied his subjects every term. If he do not, perhaps somebody else may still read public lectures upon those and similar subjects. You had better inquire: and if you find them at present in any repute, two or three preparatory courses may be useful before you attend at the observatory.

“With regard to the accommodation of your time to these courses, you might make such amicable arrangements with your fellow-librarian as may be suitable to each of you, whenever the hours of lecture may clash with those of your other occupation. But I enter on these subjects merely because you seem to have an inclination that way; for my own part, I would rather that your time and attention were devoted to the classics the first years, for if a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Roman authors be not gained while you are young, it will never be acquired. With regard to the sciences, men have been known to make a considerable progress in them at a more advanced age. Lay a solid foundation of classical literature, and you will find no difficulty in constructing an edifice excelling in usefulness and beauty. The formation of a style, the habit of composing, and the knack of versifying ought not to be out of your mind at present; you are of an age to attend to them now with advantage; but if you neglect them, it will soon be too late in life to think of them with any hope of success. You cannot, therefore, be too attentive to the subjects generally recommended to young men by the custom of the university during the first years of their residence. Your Ciceronian composition gratified me much, as it was an essay in the very course I would humbly chalk out for you. I wish now to have a sample of what you can do in the poetical way; you have long promised me a translation from Pope—when am I to expect it? But I would not break in upon your time. I know how attentive you are to your tutor, and I commend you for it. Do not miss any of his lectures upon any consideration. However, when you have a spare half hour, let me hear from you. Can you

find anything on the subject mentioned in my last? Adieu.
—Write soon to your affectionate brother,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

“ MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, Feb. 19, 1787.

“ As you have not favoured me with a letter for some time, you will allow it is natural that I should be anxious to hear from you. My friends at home are equally remiss, no account having reached me from them since November last; this circumstance adds to my anxiety. If you are in the blessed enjoyment of health and happiness, I shall have no just cause to repine. But some intelligence, however brief, of yourself, John, and my dear parents, will be the means of relieving my mind of a load of uneasiness.

“ Have you been able to hit upon anything relative to the Stewarts yet? In the ‘*Notitia Monastica*,’ a book published by Tanner, you will find old charters of lands, &c. given to monasteries and religious houses in ancient times. There were several in the southern part of Scotland, such as Melross, Dryburgh, Jedworth, &c. As witnesses to those deeds, and sometimes as donors, the name of the persons I am inquiring after occasionally occur. The period about which I am most at loss for information is from the year 1340 to the year 1400; and the individuals I am most desirous of being acquainted with are Sir William Steward, or William Seneschallus, of Jedburgh, sheriff of Teviot-Dale about the year 1390, and his son Sir John Stewart or Steward, who married Dame Marion Stewart, of Dalswinton and Garlies, A. D. 1392. What I want to prove is, that Sir William Steward was son of Sir John Steward of Dreghorn and Crookstone, son of Sir Alexander Stewart of Darnley, ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox: and Sir John Stewart of Jedburgh, who married Dame Marion, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Stewart, of Dalswinton, was his eldest son. Could this be effected, I should be able to make out what I want. Pardon me for thus troubling you with so many uninteresting particulars;

but I imagined that, by entering into some of the minutiae, you would be better able to furnish me with the information required. Inclosed are a few proofs that I have procured of the existence of the above named individuals from Rymer's *Fœdera*, which you have in the library, and which I regard as unquestionable authority. If you can add to it any corroborating particulars from 'Tanner's Notitia,' 'Dugdale's Baronage,' Tanner's MSS. in the Picture Gallery, or Dugdale's, &c. MSS. in the Gallery Tur. Bib. Bod. you will be rendering me essential service. You may confine your inquiry to half a century, from A.D. 1350 to 1400. I should think you might find something, while you are already in the library, without much trouble, especially as you are thus told nearly the date of the papers you are to examine. Particularize the document in which you happen to meet with such names, and give me a short extract from it, together with the No. of the vol. and page, if the book be in print, or the No. and title of the MS. if unpublished. Yours most affectionately, "E. WILLIAMS."

Galloway House,
March 26, 1787.

"MY DEAREST BROTHER,
"YOUR letter, like most things connected with you, afforded me much pleasure. After so long an epistolary interval, I was doubly happy to find that you were well, and doing well. I have lately received a communication from home too, and my father has been so good as to favour me with two or three lines, although only in form of a postscript to John's letter; but they conveyed the agreeable intelligence of the welfare of all friends, and I am satisfied.

"With regard to visiting Wales next summer, it is as yet a matter of considerable uncertainty. It has been talked of, but not fully resolved on. For my own part, I think it may as well be deferred till you come to relieve me, for I am still of opinion that your best plan will be to succeed me here as soon as your college education is completed. Moreover, it may be of no disservice to you, whatever line

of life you may choose to pursue. And here allow me to repeat that, with regard to your future prospects, I leave the subject entirely to your own judgment and inclination, as you ought to be best acquainted with the bent of your own mind. I will not oppose your entering the church, if you prefer it; but this requires serious deliberation, deep study, and much prayer: for it is an office of the greatest responsibility and importance—a function which, I fear, too many in the present day most odiously embrace from mercenary motives, forgetting the great ends of the profession, and the solemn account which they must give of their charge to the Chief Shepherd of souls. My opinion is, therefore, that you had better defer it for some time; it will divert your attention from your present pursuits, disarrange the whole order of your studies, and, in some measure, retard your progress in life. As a student, the classics and the elegance of composition, in prose and verse, should be, next to your Christian duties, the main objects of your industry. Afterwards the sciences, such of them as are likely to be of service to you on your admission into the senior class, and on your application for your degree, such as logic, rhetoric, and ethics. The acquisition of these is not difficult, nor devoid of interest; neither will they prove useless when you enter upon the world. Were you to think at present of the clerical profession, all these must vanish, ‘like the baseless fabric of a vision,’ to make way for the more solid and sacred structure of theology.

“I thank you for the little specimen you sent me of your poetical abilities. If the lines be not correct, they evince that you are not very far from arriving at the formation of a verse. Complain not of the muses. If you can address them with resolution and perseverance, they will be propitious enough to you to aid you, so far as you require, in your academical exercises. They are always favourable to the bold, though they may sometimes reasonably look shy on the irresolute and timid. And if they are not, you must *make* them so.

"I hope you are happy where you are, and have every thing you want; if not, let me know, and every effort in my power shall be made to assist you. Write soon. May every blessing attend you both here and hereafter. With this prayer I subscribe myself, my dearest brother, yours most affectionately,

"E. WILLIAMS."

"MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, Nov. 3, 1787.

"THE good report of your health, and the manner of your employment gratified me much. If your time is profitably engaged, I have no doubt it is spent agreeably. I am sincerely concerned at the account of my poor mother's indisposition; my desire of being able personally to comfort her is at present of no avail: but I trust she is now re-established in her health: while we all are consulting our respective interests, I much fear she has by far the most troublesome and the most anxious lot. My father says nothing of his intended publication; I trust it is in a state of forwardness, and that he will soon get rid of the laborious engagement.

"In addition to what I have already written respecting your studies, I would wish you to subscribe to some circulating library, 'Wood's' in High Street, for instance, where you may find some instructive and entertaining works; for whilst you are labouring to enrich your mind with the golden stores of ancient learning, you should not neglect the perusal of the writings of a more modern date, which will not only entertain but open and dilate your understanding, as well as supply it with a valuable fund of proper images and expressions: but beware that you distinguish between such works as serve only for amusement, and those which are conducive to solid and permanent improvement.

"It was only with a view to your own ease and indulgence that I presumed upon the possibility of your missing the present Michaelmas term, supposing you would not require it, as you had already kept two; however, as you

are arrived at college, it may be for the best. I wish you much success at your expected examination: but perhaps you would have shone to greater advantage if you had deferred it till you had made a greater progress in your studies. I long much to see you, and have some hopes that we may contrive to meet next summer. Possibly I may come into the country; should this be impracticable, I have some prospect of your being able to visit Scotland, if agreeable to you. Believe me, nothing would afford me greater enjoyment than the society and conversation of my dear brother: there are a thousand little things I would wish to ask, and a thousand things I would wish to say, which cannot so well be committed to writing; and last, though not least, I anticipate much pleasure from finding you in every way improved.

“I have troubled you with the outlines of my short tour in Ireland this summer: I sent it to the country, imagining you were there. Should it reach its intended destination, I hope you will pardon the hurry in which it was scribbled. Possibly some of our letters may miscarry; but fortunately for those written on my part there will be no great loss, they are written in such a manner and in so short a time, that if they are not lost, I must request you will commit them to the flames as soon as read. Indeed, I should be happy to hear from you oftener; and if you knew how much engaged I am, you would not stand so much on punctilios, but would write whenever you had time, and that without the least reserve, if you loved me. What would you think of spending the winter at college? The reason why I ask the question is this—the family here have some intention of procuring a person to assist me, as they say I have too much to do. It is only on condition that I approve of it: should the proposal be made, would you like me to mention your name? In my opinion, it would be no bad move; for besides the valuable advantages that would accrue to you in a variety of ways, it would be a favourable opportunity of our meeting, and spending a few months very happily

together. Should you approve of the proposal, let me hear from you soon. All I think most necessary on your part would be writing and drawing. My predecessor boasted of these qualifications, and I am deficient in them. As I am not inferior to him, that I know of, in other particulars, this has not been hinted at as a deficiency; but I feel it would add to our weight if you could pick up these accomplishments. As to the former, you may go to W— as a school-boy once more; and I will write to Mr. Burgess to give you copies in private, whenever it should be agreeable to yourself, and convenient to him. In six weeks during the Christmas vacation, you might do much. As to the latter, you might get a master at Oxford during the spring without interfering much with your other lectures. Besides the present benefit of which the acquisition of this accomplishment may be to you, it will improve your taste for the picturesque objects of nature, as well as heighten your relish for fine paintings, half of the beauties of which are often lost to us, owing to our utter ignorance of the common rules of drawing. I calculate the expense at seven guineas; a guinea on entrance, and one every twelve lectures; in three months you would make considerable progress. My father would not object to it, surely, on my writing to him and explaining matters: even if he should, depend upon my assistance. But acquaint me with your sentiments in the meanwhile. It is said of Zeuxis and Parhasius, two celebrated painters of antiquity, that, in a contention for the palm of priority, when they had produced their respective subjects, the birds came to pick the grapes which the former had painted; and that on the latter exhibiting his piece, Zeuxis desired the curtain should be raised that he might see the painting! The curtain happening to be the painting, Zeuxis acknowledged himself conquered. Although I shall not expect you to rival these masters of the art, you may, probably, attain sufficient for your purpose. Write soon, and believe me ever your affectionate brother,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

"MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, Nov. 7th, 1787.

"YOUR interest is ever near my heart, and did I know what course would be the most agreeable and advantageous to you, I would not hesitate to seize the opportunity of exerting myself in your behalf. Every man has a bias towards some line of life or other, and he will best succeed in that line to which his inclination leads him, of what that may be he is himself the best judge.

"The suggestions I dropped to you formerly on a similar subject, were occasioned by some hints thrown out by my father. It was natural for me to wish to promote your happiness, and to do so in the way he thought most eligible. I acknowledge that it has its difficulties, that it requires much time to mature our plan, and that after all it may not succeed. The expense will be certain, and the returns at any rate very precarious. Your age would add to the inconvenience of waiting ten years, and labouring twenty, in a profession in which you would have so many able competitors, and by which you might at last perhaps find it difficult to earn a tolerable subsistence. Had you a certain independence, in case of disappointment, it would lessen the difficulty; as it is, I can only say that you may call all I have yours as long as I live; and if you would prefer running so great a risk of labour and time to a less harassing and more certain pursuit you will find in me every wished for assistance. But as at your time of life you would naturally wish to settle and be of some consolation to your parents sooner than you possibly could by following so laborious and uncertain a profession, I beg leave once more to submit it to your own choice; either way you may depend on every aid both monitory and pecuniary within the range of my means. However, you will do well seriously and solemnly to weigh the matter in your mind; for although, as I have always said you might take sanctuary in the church when every other prospect failed, I do not mean to

exclude from your view the vast importance and responsibility of the ministerial functions, or that your judgment should be at all swayed by any other motives than such as the standard of truth demands. Those who flee to the altar, as an asylum from poverty and labour, must, in their deplorable ignorance of the duties of a Christian minister, possess a strangely inadequate and erroneous idea of the sanctity and importance of the employment.

"I approve of the course you are about to adopt, because I perceive from your letters a correct notion of the subject, and something like an inclination to come to some settled mode of life. You are very good to leave it to my choice; it would be abusing so much goodness to put the slightest degree of force on your inclination. I did not apprehend that an irresolution in your choice of a profession would retard your progress in your studies; your academical travels might advance you equally towards both, and when you had reached the goal, determine finally on your future pursuits.

'Hic locus est, ubi se via findit in ambas.'

However, as it is, it would be safest and most judicious to accept Mr. Hughes's kind offer, and then you will have nothing to look to but one uniform line of study. In case you close with this, you may disregard the hint suggested to you in my last, as your time will be otherwise and better occupied now.

"I am, my dear brother, yours most affectionately,

"E. WILLIAMS."

"MY DEAR BROTHER, "Galloway House, June 2nd, 1788.

"I LATELY received from home a double letter, in which my father and John joined to give me no unfavourable account of the state of things in Water Street. From some hints they throw out, I conjecture I am indebted to you for the pleasure of hearing from them: accept my thanks, then, for the greatest satisfaction I have received for some time,

as it is three or four months since a letter from that part of the country reached me. I much fear my dear mother has been sorely afflicted, however, it is consoling to think she is so much better. John seems mightily pleased with his prospects, and, like Alnascher of old, is already disposing of his fund of riches; but I trust he will not resemble his prototype *throughout*, and *kick up* the basket which is the foundation of his anticipated grandeur; that he is reconciled to his situation and in the enjoyment of much happiness is a source of gratification to me, as few things would please me more than his prosperity: but I should have thought him more likely to succeed in a more elevated station; however, it is preferable that he should follow his own inclination, and if he be satisfied with his choice, I am sure I am.

“When you next write to Pritchard, please to present my compliments to him, and inform him that a line from his pen will be most acceptable when he has nothing better to do. You are right to keep up your correspondence with him; it will afford you much entertainment, and he is a very worthy fellow.

“With regard to your request in favour of your friend, I must at once come to an issue, and give you a refusal. I trust you are persuaded that nothing would afford me more real pleasure than an opportunity of obliging you, but in this case I am exceedingly sorry it is quite out of my power. I have not yet been introduced to the Bishop of St. David’s, and before I am known, were I in his diocese to grant a title which would eventually prove a fraudulent one, it might very justly prejudice him against me. Besides, to give a *false* title, and solemnly to assert it as a fair one, is an execrable crime, and not justifiable by any palliation that can be offered. It is owing to this sinister practice that so many vagrant clergy, especially from our own country, flock to England in search of employment, to the disgrace of the profession; indeed it has become so notorious, that nothing short of episcopal interference can remedy the evil.

As early as the fifth century this corruption had crept into the church, and in the council of Chalcedon, it was so indignantly and justly condemned, that the orders of all thus fraudulently ordained were declared null and void ; and themselves, to the reproach of those who so ordained them, were declared incapable of performing any clerical duties. The giver of the title commits a fraud, with the aggravation of setting a bad example ; and the receiver enters on his ministry with a lie in his mouth, exhibiting at once his unfitness for the office, as well as the little reason he has to hope for God's protection and blessing in the pursuit of his labours. In short, it is a perfect prostitution of holy things. You not only know my sentiments on this subject, but, I trust, see it in the same light, and I cannot persuade myself but that your kindness of disposition got the better of your judgment. F— made me a similar request last year, and I entreated him not to tempt me again to such dereliction of duty, and I hope you will grant me the same indulgence.

“I trust your study of men and books, as well as every attention to personal and mental improvement, are advancing rapidly, especially such studies as are subservient to the great ends of the ministry : cultivate an acquaintance with all the pious and useful clergy. Let me know what society you enjoy, and what authors you read, and write as soon as you can to, my dear brother, yours most affectionately,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

“ DEAR BROTHER,

Galloway House, Sept. 3rd, 1789.

“ IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of your letter I wrote to my father and requested him to send you what you say you have received. It was not in my power to assist you this time ; that circumstance, together with the number of my engagements, prevented my communicating with you sooner. Pardon me if I may appear to have been negligent, so far was it from this, that you have hardly been out of my thoughts.

I was much mortified at my inability to serve you, but as I find you have had the required assistance, I can write to you with greater satisfaction.

“ Let me hear oftener from you, my dear brother, and credit me when I tell you that every letter which brings me favourable intelligence of you, brings me real pleasure. I leave this place very early to-morrow for Netherby, the seat of Sir James Graham, son-in-law to the Earl of Galloway; two of my pupils accompany me on a visit to their sister. The place is near Longtown, within ten miles of Carlisle, and almost a hundred from Galloway House. So, until you hear to the contrary, enclose your letters, as usual, to the Earl of Galloway.

“ I am persuaded you are not idle, for you must be convinced that nothing can be more contemptible than an idle clergyman. The wretched expedient, to which ignorance so often drives laymen, of introducing dogs and horses, and other frivolous subjects, and sometimes such as are less harmless and gentlemanly, to keep up what is called the spirit of conversation, should be of itself a most powerful reason to all for cultivating the mind: but a clergyman should always stand on higher ground, and should qualify himself as a fit companion for persons of sense and knowledge, and as a pattern of learning, morality, and usefulness. The man who ought to know most ought certainly to be the most diligent; and he who assumes the task of teaching others ought of course to know most himself. History, sacred and profane, next to divinity, claims the first place. With the study of the Scriptures comes in the study of the fathers, especially those of the three first centuries. Having made yourself acquainted with the knowledge of primitive antiquity, apply yourself to the writers on more modern history, such as Rollin, Gibbon, Robertson, &c., who, in connexion with some of the best theological writers, such as Pearson, Stillingfleet, Barrow, &c. will furnish you with a rich variety of learning and reasoning, and will add considerably to your usefulness in your public functions.

“Most books of consequence perhaps you may borrow from any of the country gentlemen in your neighbourhood, who sometimes consider it a compliment paid them to consult their library, but smaller and less costly works, those for constant use, you may purchase.

“When studying history you should have a set of correct maps and good chronological tables before you; for what signifies a confused heap of facts if you are ignorant when and where they happened. It is like the author who writes of the King of Bohemia’s walking out one day by the sea side, when unfortunately it turns out there is no sea within some scores of miles of Bohemia.

“With regard to your mathematical studies, you had better get Bonnycastle’s Treatises on Arithmetic and Algebra; they may be procured for three shillings each; or Vyse will do for the latter, as there is a key; and you will find it less puzzling at first to have the sums ready worked to your hand. Although this is a noble science, and admirably adapted for fixing the attention of the student, besides supplying him with various rules relating to the arts of life, I would not recommend your applying yourself to it now unless you are considerably advanced in that branch of it which pertains to quantity, for it will interfere too much with more important things. But of the portion of it, technically called mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, &c., which elucidate the nature and laws of motion, the power of fluids, the properties of earth and air, &c. no educated man should be ignorant; while it enlarges the mind, it tends to excite our adoring gratitude to the great and beneficent Being, who is the author of those stupendous works of heaven and earth.

“Be always intent on intellectual improvement. Let the first six hours of the day be sacred to study, then, by way of recreation, call on your parishioners, and visit the sick: and some part of the evening you may perhaps devote to good company, when you can find it, and improve it to some useful purposes. But a clergyman should never go to

a public inn, even for the society of an archbishop, unless on a journey, or unless some urgent occasion demands; and then he should remain no longer than that occasion requires.

“I may possibly get away to see my friends next winter or spring, but I do not think it right to leave the family unless you were to succeed me; of this you know your own inclination best; and from a letter written to you some time ago, you may form a guess what qualifications are necessary: it would afford me great happiness to oblige you, but I am anxious not to press you either way against your own bent. To-morrow will be my first journey this year. It is very late, and I must be up early. Adieu, dear brother, believe me ever yours,

“E. WILLIAMS.”

“MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, June 19th, ——

“THOUGH the dissolution of parliament has put an end, for the present, to the privilege of sending letters under cover, I entreat it may not prevent your writing, as I shall be impatient to hear from you. Excuse my troubling you after having so lately despatched a long epistle, but I feared that the intermission of franking might deprive me of the pleasure of your correspondence.

“I trust you pass your time usefully and agreeably, unmindful neither of your studies nor of your health. I cannot help thinking that a more methodical and extensive plan of reading and composing might be found profitable as well as entertaining. Suppose, for instance, you peruse Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History with attention, and Jortin’s Remarks on the Study of the Fathers, &c., making your own observations on such passages as strike you most. What would you think of exercising your pen by condensing and modernizing Burnet’s Exposition on the Thirty-nine Articles, or Archbishop Usher’s Body of Divinity? might they not be brought, at your leisure, to such a degree of perfection as, in process of time, to admit of

being published with credit and advantage to yourself, as well as benefit to the lovers of religion and learning? or perhaps it would be a more useful and less tedious exercise to write short annotations on various portions of the Scriptures, after the manner of Poole, but with the accuracy and elegance of Blair, if you could by dint of application make yourself master of his style.

“Let me know the object of your present pursuit, and the usual direction of your studies. The classics, remember, should not merely be read through, but be weighed with great care until you have made yourself master of the sentiments they contain, especially Cicero’s Philosophical Discourses, Persius’s Second Satire, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, ‘cum multis aliis quæ nunc perscribere longum est.’ These are amongst the best of heathen writers, and contain many valuable instructions that should not be passed over too lightly.

“I hope you are by this time tolerably well acquainted with the lower branches of mathematics. If you can come to take my situation for a season you will find here a good collection of philosophical instruments, a good pair of globes, and an extensive library. As to divinity, I forget whether I recommended to your perusal Dr. Hammond’s Practical Catechism, Dr. Prideaux’s Connection of the Old and New Testament, and Dr. Newton on the Prophecies. These will certainly assist you much, and will put you into a fresh track of thinking; but pay the most attention to the word of God itself, without note or comment, let that be your Polar star, remembering, that, ‘Dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquæ.’ Should I die before you, you will find a few sermons amongst my papers, which I will thank you to see corrected and polished, and (should you think proper) published by some respectable London bookseller. Should the Almighty spare my life, I may enlarge and revise them myself. But you need not take any notice of this now. Write soon. Any particularly literary intelligence from Oxford will be acceptable. What new publications

are talked of most? What is the general opinion at present of White and his coadjutors?" Yours affectionately,

"E. WILLIAMS."

"MY DEAR BROTHER, Galloway House, Oct. —, 1790.

"YOUR letter would have been acknowledged sooner, but for my absence. I have been for some weeks sojourning in Edinburgh, ransacking old books, papers, and parchments, and am only just returned. I was present during the election of the Scotch peers, and had a good opportunity of observing the whole ceremony. I regret to say Lord Galloway was not successful; however, he is pretty certain of his seat, and should he ever fail in obtaining it, which is not expected, it will not matter much, as he will soon be made an English peer.

"My thanks are due to you for your literary information. As I regularly see the monthly publications, I had read an account of the particulars you mention respecting Oxford. Mr. Croft is the person engaged in compiling an English dictionary. *Αρχαίους* is the word in Josephus which Mr. Huntery affirms to be applicable only to such foundations as were decayed and worn out through the injuries of time; while Mr. Burgess asserts that the foundations are called *Αρχαίους* in consequence of their removal, and in opposition to the *Ετεροί*, or new ones. 'Who shall decide when doctors disagree?' It was reported that Dr. Owen had some intentions of publishing the Septuagint with various readings. In my opinion he would have executed it better than Monkhouse; and I rather wished it for the honour of our college.

"I shall always feel obliged for any literary news from the university or elsewhere, that you may pick up. I see something of the kind, it is true, in the periodical publications, but you may hear many an anecdote that may not reach the public eye. Although my time is too much occupied to join in the chase, (to use a sporting metaphor) I love to hear of the diversion, and the adventures of the

game may amuse, while an intention of engaging in the pursuit may not exist.

“With regard to the £400. appropriated to your living, you cannot do better than lay it out in the purchase of land on good security, if any such should offer in your immediate neighbourhood. It is your duty, as a faithful steward to your successor, to exert yourself while in possession of the incumbency, to improve the value of it; and the trustees of Queen Anne’s Bounty will be much better pleased, and will be more likely to think of Swinburn again, when they hear that the last donation has been so well applied. In fact, an investment of money in the funds is not agreeable to their wishes; for they are of opinion, and very justly so too, that a good and eligible purchase in land may benefit posterity, while the grant lying out at interest benefits only the existing proprietor. You had better send, as soon as convenient, an account well attested of your living, its duties, its annual value, &c., and your application will be punctually attended to in some shape or another. I need not tell you, that if any gentleman will give a sum towards the augmentation, the trustees will double that sum. My interfering would be of no avail, because they will as readily attend to your representations, and you may depend upon being aided in your turn, that is to say, whenever it falls to your lot. I am certain, as I told you before, of every assistance that can be given, but as that is no more than what you can procure, why should I put myself under an obligation? My doing anything respecting Price will not at present be feasible, but you shall hear from me on the subject another time; in the meanwhile rest assured that your interest is not overlooked.

“The eldest of my pupils* has left me for Berlin, accompanied by the messenger from the British court; so that I was spared so long a journey at this season of the year, though I dare say I should have enjoyed myself

* The Hon. William Stewart.

much. He, poor fellow, seemed a good deal disappointed. I regret his departure, as he was of an age and disposition that enabled and prompted him to render study and application both entertaining and instructive. He had commenced reading the higher classics with facility, and to converse on literary subjects with considerable propriety. He has written me a letter from Vienna, in which letter he expresses himself with a degree of gratitude and a warmth of friendship that has quite charmed me; and, as if the bare acknowledgment did not suffice, he must give me an additional proof of his sincerity by presenting me with 'Bruce's Travels to Abyssinia.' He is intended for the diplomatic and the military profession, which accounts for his being sent at present to Germany.

"Much credit is due to the Bishop of St. David's,* for his very salutary regulations respecting candidates for orders. Too much caution cannot be used, and too much encouragement cannot be given to men of real piety and learning, especially in these times when the enemies we have to contend with are so numerous, vigilant, and able. I have a high opinion of him as a man, and as a scholar, as a divine, and as a controversialist, of which he has exhibited fresh proofs by his very able replies to Dr. Priestley. I have recently been reading his tracts, in answer to some restless innovator who would have the beautiful service of our church altered. He is suspected of having written the 'Apology for the Liturgy.'

"The author, whoever he may be, defends our establishment cleverly, and vindicates our present translation of the Bible. He seems to agree with you in his opinion of Ken-
nicott's performance. 'I would not be wanting,' says he, 'in respect for his veracity and diligence; but let me have leave to say, it has not been seen that religion or learning has been much the gainer by his collations.' Adieu. Write soon, and let me know what there is new, especially in your

* Dr. Horseley.

religious and literary atmosphere. My duty, love, and compliments where due. Yours affectionately,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

“ P. S. A letter from my father has this instant been delivered to me. He and all the family are well. He has just completed his edition of the Bible,* and seems in good spirits on the occasion. I mention this circumstance as I am persuaded it will afford you as much pleasure as it does me.”

Page xxvii. line 27. “ We will deserve it.”

“ It is not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.”

ADDISON'S CATO.

Page xlix. line 24. “ Hints to Females in High Life.”

What grateful pleasure to revolve the page
Which pictures woman's charms in every age,
Tells us of all that Greece or Rome adored,
Of the famed consort of Palmyra's lord,
Of Arria's spirit, Agrippina's birth,
Calpurnia's virtue, and Sextilia's worth,
The realms Valvaria lost, or Fausta won,
Or sad Octavia's sorrow for her son ;
Admits us candidly, in each, to view
The proper weight of praise or censure due ;
What Prudence ever cautiously employ'd,
Or here would imitate, or there avoid ;
For faithful history, the fair one's friend
(Pleasure the means, utility the end)
Selects from each example what diverts,
And Virtue's empire o'er the heart asserts.

* The Welsh Edition of Canne's Bible with marginal notes.

But thus, while history the fair would guide,
 Two beauteous sisters sparkle at her side ;
 Who each relation with precision grace,
 While one the period marks, and one the place ;
 This boasts the memory, to note the time
 When brave Masistas perish'd in his prime,
 While his wife's virtue sanctified his crime ;
 When chaste Panthea's purity was tried,
 When Sappho wrote, or Mariamne died ;
 When fair Roxana the arms of Beauty hurl'd,
 And vanquish'd him who vanquish'd all the world ;
 That knows to trace, with accurate design,
 Each spot where laurels female brows entwine ;
 Where the stern mother bade her son return
 His buckler safe, or on a buckler borne ;
 Where Telesilla every danger braved,
 Her sex ennobled, and her country saved ;
 Where Clelia shew'd, while struggling with the stream,
 Freedom and Virtue then were but the same ;
 Where Agarista rear'd the well taught boy,
 The muse's nursling, and the artist's joy ;
 Where Artemisia's wondrous tombs afford
 A proof, a widow once bewail'd her lord.

* * * * *

Yet Gallia boasts, among a world of weeds,
 Some plants, whose virtue for protection pleads ;
 The flowers, the toils of Fenelon produce,
 Not more design'd for pleasure than for use ;
 Crevier's forced fruits, and Dacier's foreign plants,
 And Boileau's posies from the Satyr's haunts ;
 The bowers that shadow Sillery's retreats,
 And Rollin's parterre of historic sweets.
 These and a thousand other beauteous flowers
 Perfume the memory of the Gallic powers,
 And bear their fame on odoriferous wing
 Where'er the Graces move, or Muses sing.

* * * * *

Nor is the tongue immortal Tasso used,
 Which taste refined and elegance diffused,
 Unmeet, with pleasing harmony to bear
 The fair's soft sorrows to the tuneful ear :
 Who is not charm'd to see the enchanted maid
 Attend Arminta to the sylvan shade ;
 To hear melodious Metastasio tell
 How Io wander'd, or how Dido fell ;
 To view the strifes of Guenardine's age,
 Or Laura's beauty, or Orlando's rage ?
 Thence some new beauties still the language grace,
 The mind embellish, and improve the face ;
 While the taste, true and exquisitely nice,
 Knows to distinguish between wit and vice.

* * * * *

Now turn the tuneful, now the historic page,
 The well piled riches of the Scottish sage,
 Where, in due order, all the treasure's stored
 Which Spain could spoil, or either India hoard ;
 Goldsmith's rich metal fashionably fine,
 And modest Leland's Macedonian mine.
 These guide the electric matter which supplies
 The dear dread lightning of destructive eyes :
 The bard who sung the empyrean seats,
 The groves of Eden, and her green retreats :
 The lively painter of the rolling year,
 Where every season's prodigies appear ;
 Young's moral muse, Eliza's luscious lines,
 Pope's syren song, and Parnel's just designs ;
 The mild instructive innocence of Gay,
 The walks of Shenstone, and the flights of Gray ;
 And courtly Addison, the Muse's care,
 And Steele, the guardian of the British fair ;
 And manly Johnson, virtuously severe,
 Whose satire never drew a guiltless tear,
 Whose polish'd periods, like the shafts of Love,
 Please whom they wound, and whom they please improve.

Hence sparks of wit, as pleasing truths inspire,
 Fill the fair student's lovely eyes with fire;
 These yield the enlivening spirit which imparts
 Immortal energy to mortal hearts.

* * * * *

They best succeed their faces' faults to mend,
 Who to the root of every fault descend;
 As those to boast the richest fruit are found,
 Who prune the trees and cultivate the ground.

* * * * *

Strive first to learn the honourable art
 To raise from earth to heavenly scenes the heart,
 For often dignity of thought we find
 Stamps on the face the grandeur of the mind;
 Make, then, the joys of piety your care,
 Who think like angels, prove like angels fair.

* * * * *

Page 1, line 13. "Two or three specimens of the
 text, and of the notes may gratify the reader."

When James with bigotry and pride
 At will would guide the helm,
 Britain's best pilots stemm'd the tide,
 And saved the sinking realm.

But faction clamorously wrong
 Essay'd to thwart their views,
 And taught the unreflecting throng
 Their guardians to abuse.

Long they spun out the boastful tale,
 Their merits to enhance,
 Till time removed the flimsy veil,
 And show'd them bribed by France.*

* Every real patriot must read with regret the names of Hambden and Sydney in the list of French pensioners bribed to favour the views of France, under the mask of opposition to the ambition of the minister and the

Believe not every well told tale,
Trust not to outward show,
The fairest flowers a snake conceal,
A cliff the smoothest snow.

Fair promises of firm support,
A fallen cause to raise,
Are easy steps to rise at court,
Or baits to catch a place.

The modes at public wrongs to rail,
Or honour'd names to curse,
Are juggles to escape a jail,
Or fill an empty purse.†

Despair not, though a foreign host
The country's margin tread,
But bravely fortify the coast
With bulwarks of the dead.

measures of the court; and must wish either that Somerville's defence of the patriots of the day had been more successful, or that Barillon, the French Ambassador's account of his pensioners less accurate and less decisive. The events related by Barillon occurred, it is true, in the reign of Charles II., but events of a similar nature happened in the reign of his successor; and some of the principal characters who appeared on the stage in the course of the revolution, are accused of private transactions behind the scenes, consistent neither with the parts which they acted, nor the engagements into which they had entered.

† It may possibly be imagined that some of these ideas are too ludicrous to have been entertained with propriety by a person in the unfortunate situation to which the writer was reduced, at the period when these lines were written. But whatever inconsistency there may be in indulging in mirth, when suffering under the lash of adversity, it may be observed of some very eminent characters, that they were not deserted by their cheerfulness and wit, though forsaken by their good fortune and their friends. Sir Thomas More, when laying his head on the block, said to the executioner, with a significant smile, "First permit me, friend, to put my beard aside, for that at least has done no harm." And one of the alleged conspirators sacrificed to the ambition of the French convention, when kneeling to undergo the fatal operation, exclaimed with great indifference, "Chacun a son tour."

How did our ancestors dispose
 Of the hostile fleets of Spain?
 Their valour like a whirlwind rose,
 And whelm'd them in the main.

Where now are Gaul's invading powers*
 Once raised at James's call?
 The waves that wash'd their native shores
 Blush'd at their fameless fall.

Page lxxiv. line 2. "Admirable effects in Scotland."

Unhappily a new system of education has since been adopted, and the consequences are, infidelity, immorality, and turbulence on the part of the people—a result which proves that such a system is not only defective as regards preparation for eternity, but immediately injurious to the interests of society. "It is known, but not perhaps so widely as it ought to be, that Scotland, which was long celebrated even to a proverb, for the morality of its population, has, of late years, exhibited a totally altered aspect. 'It is a melancholy fact that the progress of crime has been more rapid in that part of the British dominions,

* The jacobites of the last century were at least as much the subject of conversation, and represented as formidable for their numbers and as dangerous for their principles as the jacobins of the present. The rumour of an invasion was as prevalent at that period as it has been in our days, but it ended in the total defeat of the French fleet by the allied squadron at La Hogue, and in the complete establishment of real liberty in England. How the present tumults may terminate it is not easy to foretell, but it is sincerely to be hoped that the generation of Englishmen who now inhabit the land of uncontaminated freedom have not degenerated from the valour and virtues of their ancestors, and that they are not to be deluded by the emissaries of disorder to barter away their possessions for empty promises, and their felicity for palpable insanity. Wat appears to have read Somerville's Transactions with some attention, and such are the reflections that appear to have occurred to him.

during the last thirty years, than in any other state of Europe.' And, compared with this, it is a remarkable fact, that in Scotland, within the same period, there has been a more decided change from a religious to a secular education, than in any state in Europe. The education formerly given to the people of Scotland was part and parcel of their national church. The Bible and the Assembly's Catechism were school books, and so intellectual cultivation and Christian training advanced in parallel lines. The result was a happy combination of religious intelligence, moral virtues, and provident habits. But since that system gave way before the rapidly increasing population of her great manufacturing towns, since preparation for success in the business of this life has become the main object, and the Bible has been, if not systematically withdrawn, yet practically neglected, the consequences have been just such as a scriptural view of human nature would have led us to anticipate."—*Speech on the National Education, by the Rev. Hugh M'Neil.*—ED.

The following letters may not improperly be introduced here:

TO VISCOUNT GARLIES.

"MY DEAR LORD,

Galloway House, June 2, 1788.

"WHILE the beauties of the Mediterranean and the wonders of the East engaged your attention, I could not flatter myself that anything from me could have been acceptable, and I forbore troubling you, while I was sensible you were so much better employed. One of the last things your lordship did in England, however, was to accept of a letter from me; and had I been furnished with the smallest portion of prescience, I should have contrived that the first thing done on your arrival should have been something of the same nature, and I am not without hopes that

it would have been favourably received, as I am persuaded that your lordship's share of good nature did not suffer by the voyage.

Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt

has been often applied to those who brought home the same disposition with which they sailed; and I believe it to be not inapplicable on the present occasion, as I know your lordship's goodness of heart to be proof against every climate. Be not mistaken, my lord, I did not intend a compliment. I sat down with an intention of giving vent to the effusions of my heart, and I have been betrayed into a truth, which, to anybody who is unacquainted with your lordship, might look like adulation.

"When I took up my pen it was with the intention of saying, in a few words, what I could not conceal—that I was happy to hear of your safe arrival, and that I should be still happier to hear from you: as for the pleasure of taking you by the hand, whatever may be my hope, I cannot say I have faith enough to believe that it is what I shall soon enjoy. I rejoice, however, in the disappointment, as it is occasioned by your lordship's promotion, and only wish that instead of one step, you could take two. I really think that he, who, after an absence of three years, gets sight of old England, and can immediately quit its shores to revisit the rocks of Gibraltar for the sake of a lieutenancy, deserves to return a captain. I am indebted to my Lord Galloway for the pleasing prospect he has opened to me of your lordship's further advancement in due time. I am now fully justified in my hopes of having the happiness to live to see you an admiral, but those hopes are not founded in any expectation I can have of enjoying a long life.

"During the whole of your voyage your lordship sailed not unattended. While you were traversing the *Ægean*, we were pursuing your track in the maps of Cellarius; while you visited the coast of Asia Minor, we were going

over nearly the same ground in the journals of Homer; and when you returned to the gentler regions of Italy, we were following the descriptions of the Mantuan bard,

—— atque Italis longè disjungimur oris;

and your lordship will allow that this may be, on some occasions, the least troublesome mode of attendance. This kind of travel, however, having had an amazing effect on William,* who was my principal companion during the voyage, for you will find him almost twice as tall as you left him. In fact, they have all grown so much that I question whether you will now be able to distinguish them without the expedient, which I remember you once proposed, of having a label affixed to each to prevent mistakes.

“They are all happy to hear of your safe arrival, and impatient of the pleasure of seeing you, but none more so than, my dear lord, your lordship’s devoted friend and servant,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

FROM THE EARL OF GALLOWAY.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

London, June 8, 1790.

“ WHAT with the war, the promotion of my sons, elections, the dissolution of parliament, which is to take place on the 11th or 12th instant, my impatience for Garlies’s return, together with many other occurrences not mentionable in letters, every thing here has been, and is still in the greatest hurry and confusion, and with none more so than myself.

“ By the accounts received this day, I am led to hope that (God willing) we shall soon see Garlies,† which is of consequence. I have given in the names of two small

* The Hon. William Stewart.

† His lordship’s eldest son George Stewart, Viscount Garlies.

livings for your brother in Wales, on which the chancellor has promised to bestow attention, the first half hour of leisure that he has, but I fear it will be otherwise for some time.

“What you write to me, relative to my Stewart claim, has raised my hopes greatly on that score. I will endeavour to arrange with Mr. Andrew Stuart,† upon the subject of his giving us the meeting at Edinburgh.

“He has called since I wrote the above, and is most anxious we should all meet there at the time specified. He leaves town for Weymouth to-morrow for his election, having been brought in there, on the most honourable footing, through the interest of his friend Mr. Pulteney.‡ I have perused, but not so carefully as I could wish, that part of Mr. Andrew Stuart’s account of the Stewart family, which he brought me. He says that Sir Allan Stewart, who was killed in the year 1333, at the battle of Halidon, was succeeded by John Stewart his son, who fell at the battle of Durham in 1346, and that he was succeeded by his son John Stewart, of Darnely, who is referred to in the original documents, as ‘Johan fils et heir seigneur John Stewart de Dernely.’ He had a son named Robert, who died without heirs, and was succeeded first by Walter, and then by Alexander, who had heirs. This he proves by charters. But I have not proceeded further; when I do, I will write to inform you what occurs to me as to the agreement or disagreement of your respective genealogies. He is of opinion that you leave out one generation, that of John, the son of Allan.

“The king knows of our expectation in regard to Garlies Town Harbour, and speaks with pleasure of it. His majesty has even seen the report, &c. which you have drawn up, and made many enquiries about the author.

† Earl Galloway’s opponent for the British Peerage, and author of “The Genealogy of the Stewarts.”

‡ Afterwards Sir James Pulteney, M. P.

“ Remember me affectionately to my dear family, and tell Georgiana, in particular, that on my return I shall hope to find her hold herself as upright as her sister Catherine.

“ I am, my dear sir, in great haste, most sincerely yours,
“ GALLOWAY.”

“ To the Rev. E. Williams,
Galloway House.”

FROM THE SAME.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ POSSIBLY, you may not choose to print off your pamphlet, though completed, until you come to London. In short, if it would not occupy too much of your valuable time at present, I should take it very kind, my good friend, if you would write your ideas and views on the subject above alluded to. For my own part, if I thought there was no risk of any new peers being made previously to the publication of your work, I should be in no hurry ; but should parliament be dissolved as soon as some imagine, and there is every probability that it will, sooner than we expect, before your publication is known, the advantage hoped from it would in a great measure be lost.

“ All this family desire to join with me in kind regards, and I am, and ever will be, my dear sir, your faithful friend,
&c. GALLOWAY.”

“ The Rev. E. Williams,
4, James Street, St. James's Square, Edinburgh.”

FROM THE SAME.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

Charles Street, 30th January, 1794.

“ SINCE the receipt of your very polite letter, the enclosed has been sent me by Mr. Young. I must own its contents surprised me much, as I am convinced from your general accuracy that the calculation you drew up in favour of Messrs. Robertson, &c. was a more equitable one ; and from the circumstance of Mr. Young's mentioning my having shewn his letter to you, I am persuaded he thinks so too.

I really am of opinion, that when public records, &c. are kept at the public expense, and large salaries are given to gentlemen for the purpose of facilitating the researches of the public, restriction should be laid on those who have the care of such offices, and their charges limited. When an illiterate person, or one who is unable to make the necessary research himself, saddles the entire of the labour upon the clerks, it would be but natural that a proportionable remuneration should be claimed: but when a person of erudition enters into the investigation himself, and gives no other trouble than obtaining access to such records, the case is widely different; and to charge every document separately, as you will observe in the enclosed, and that too when *you alone* have had the entire toil, a toil by the way for which I can never sufficiently remunerate you, appears to me out of all reason, and savours strongly of imposition. However have the kindness to decide whether they are entitled to their account or not, and favour me with such an answer as I can forward to Mr. Young, and I will instantly settle it.

“I feel greatly obliged to you for the very accurate arrangement in which you left my papers, &c. with Mr. Young; should there be any other documents of consequence in your present possession, I will thank you to have them prepared, at your convenience, together with a note to Nish, if you have any hint you would desire to give with regard to the order of placing them, and I will direct them to be forwarded to Galloway.

“Have you seen anything of Mr. Andrew Stuart lately? Is he proceeding with his ‘History of the Stewarts,’ as he calls it? and pray, does the death of my old acquaintance, Sir John Stewart, of Castlemilk, change his title, or is the title extinct? I am, my dear sir, your faithful friend, and very obliged servant,

“GALLOWAY.”

FROM THE SAME.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

Trentham Aug. 2, 1798.

“ I TROUBLE you with this note for the purpose of transmitting to you the letter which I had mentioned as having received from Mr. Bushby. Should you wish to write to him on the subject, you had better enclose it to me. We propose meeting on the 11th instant at Netherby, where it will find both of us.

“ I hope Lady Galloway has, before this time, procured from Mr. W. Spencer, 34, Curson Street, May Fair, my copy of Andrew Stuart’s History of the Stewarts, and also the copy I lent him of your account of my family, both of which, I hope she has already sent to you. If not, I am sure she will, as I reminded her of it in my last letter.

“ I am, my dear sir, your faithful friend, &c.

“ GALLOWAY.”

“ To the Rev. E. Williams,
42, Rathbone Place, London.”

FROM THE HONOURABLE CHARLES STEWART,

(AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF QUEBEC.)

“ MY DEAR SIR,

Culham Court, Aug. 12th, 1794.

“ As you have always shewn and expressed yourself desirous to oblige me or any of my connexions, whenever in your power, I have taken the liberty of informing you that Lord Blandford and I shall consider ourselves indebted to you, if you will use your vote and interest in supporting the election of the Duke of Beaufort for the vacant chancellorship of Oxford. Lord Blandford interests himself much in his grace’s election, and we trust we shall not be disappointed of having your voice and influence in our favour. Among the many and great kindnesses which I have received from you, your support on the present occasion will be considered among the greatest by, my dear sir, your very much obliged and faithful

“ CHARLES STEWART.”

“P.S. I hope you will pardon the brevity of this, and let me entreat that you will not pay me back in my own coin, although it would be no more than justice; with your accustomed generosity, write me one of your long agreeable letters. All desire their kind regards. When shall we have the pleasure of your society here? C. S.”

FROM THE SAME.

“MY DEAR SIR,

Oxford, Dec. 11th, 1794.

“PRAY accept of my warmest thanks for your very kind letter, and for the good news and excellent admonitions which it contains.

“I shall be at liberty after Thursday or Friday next, and I expect to be in London soon after, when I promise myself the pleasure of more of your company than I had last vacation. Believe me, my dear sir, it will afford me much happiness to do anything in my power to oblige you or the little stranger, who I hope is well. Be so good as to convey my kind regards to Mrs. Williams, and say I trust she will be sufficiently recovered to receive me on my arrival.

“When I last wrote to town I requested that my brother* would consult your and his own convenience relative to the christening of the little boy, and let me know the result of that consultation, as I should be entirely at your disposal; for you are aware that leaving Oxford a day or two earlier or later can make very little difference to me.

“I attended Dr. Randolph’s† Divinity Lectures this term, and find them both useful and entertaining. I have got through, at my leisure hours, as you advised me, another book of Euclid; and I am at present reading Cicero’s Orations. These and other matters I hope to talk over with

* The Right Honourable George, Lord Viscount Garlies, succeeded to his father’s title and estates in 1806.

† Consecrated Bishop of Oxford in 1799.

you when we meet. In the mean time, believe me to be, my dear sir, with every feeling of respect and friendship, very gratefully and sincerely yours,

“CHARLES STEWART.”

FROM THE SAME.

“St. Armand, Lower Canada,
March 10th, 1813.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“SOME time in the year 1810 I was favoured with a letter from you, informing me of your promotion to the vicarage of Lampeter, by the Bishop of St. David's, as also expressing a wish that I would vote for Lord Eldon in the election for the chancellor of the University. I respect the bishop very highly, and wish much to be acquainted with him. As to the latter I cannot but regret that I was so circumstanced as to be unable to comply with your wishes. My inability to answer your kind communication arose from the same cause, and I trust you will pardon my apparent remissness.

“I beg leave also to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated July 30, 1812. I have to express my sincerest condolence with you on the loss of your wife, and at the same time my best thanks are due to you for your kind condolence with me on the death of my sister Sophia.

“From your last letter I conclude you are still ignorant of my residence in this country. In the year 1806, I determined on prosecuting missionary pursuits. My diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln recommended me to the Bishop of Quebec, who was then in England, and he pointed out the tract of country and the congregation destined for my cure. I sailed from Plymouth for Quebec, August 7th, 1807; landed at Quebec, Sept. 27th. Arrived at Montreal, 180 miles from Quebec, Oct. 10th, and at Missiskoni Bay, St. Armand, Oct. 21st of the same year. There I have been ever since, without interruption, except going to Quebec once, to Cornwall in Upper Canada (80 miles from Montreal) once, and to Montreal, which is nearly 70 miles from my

house, once or twice a year. St. Armand is on the province line 45° and bounded on the west by Lake Champlain. I have been also 65 miles east in the new township, and once above 80 miles to the south, to Middleburg in Vermont State.

“I have been blessed with remarkably good health, as well as many other dispensations of God’s Providence and grace, for which I can never be sufficiently thankful, so that the promise in Luke xviii. 29, 30, has been confirmed to me as far as possible. The church is encreased as much as I could expect under my moderate abilities, and the many difficulties incident to a new country thinly and poorly peopled. The character of this new part of the world is very imperfectly understood by those who have not resided in it. The present war is a grievous calamity, but I imagine the enemy will not be able to conquer any part of the two provinces this year.

“When I left home I had not an idea of remaining here so long without visiting England. I patiently wait the dispensations of Providence enabling me to return with propriety: but I hope to be in England before next winter, that is to say, if I can meet with a curate, which is my only great difficulty, and my present desideratum. Whenever I do return, be assured, my dear sir, I shall be most happy to see you. I flatter myself I can be more useful as a minister of the Gospel, in this part of the world than in any other. But I trust I am ready to go to any spot, and to do anything for the sake of Christ. May I express a hope that you preach and cultivate his free grace, and consequently that you grow in it, and increase it to yourself and many others; and especially to your own family. Wishing you this heartily, I remain, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,

“CHARLES STEWART.”

“P. S. Two churches have been built at St. Armand through my instrumentality.”

FROM THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM STEWART,
(AFTERWARDS GENERAL STEWART.)

" MY DEAR SIR,

Netherby, July 29, 1790.

" WE arrived here last night by nine o'clock, and I have now taken up my pen in Sir James's* library, before any body is up, to write a few lines to you. Poor Susan enjoyed but little of her drive, as she was indisposed all day. I have not yet inquired how she is this morning. Neither was Harriet very well, as she was suffering from a severe cold. Within a mile of Longtown the fore spring of the carriage broke, we, however, contrived to reach that place without any further accident, here we got it fastened with ropes, which enabled us to get to the end of our journey in safety. Sir James has this moment made his entrè, so I fear I must be more brief than I at first intended. May I take the liberty of requesting that you will send Daniel to Robinson's, in Prince's Street, for my regimental jacket, &c., and if not too troublesome, will you have the kindness to put them up in your box when you come. It is my intention to keep good hours here, and to follow your good advice of walking out before breakfast every morning, now that I have left Edinburgh. I walked out four miles yesterday morning before breakfast to see Lord Napier's at Hardwick, it is a beautiful place certainly, but lies in a hollow. They are calling me to breakfast, so I must conclude, with begging you will believe me to be, my dear sir, ever, yours very affectionately,

" WILLIAM STEWART."

" P. S. I hope to write you a further account, if possible, of our journey, &c. to-morrow."

* Sir James Graham, bart., who had married the honourable William Stewart's eldest sister.

FROM THE SAME.

"MY DEAR SIR,

Netherby, Aug. 2, 1790.

"MY last letter to you was written in such a hurry, owing to the succession of summonses from the major domo and others, for me to attend the breakfast table, that I fear it was scarcely either legible or intelligible, but your goodness, will, I am sure, overlook my numerous imperfections, as you have ever done on many occasions; but whatever my imperfections may be, I hope sincerely, my dear sir, that want of affection, gratitude, and respect towards you at all times and in all places, will never be amongst the number. I promised to give you a further account of my journey hither, but on consideration I have little more of consequence to say upon the subject, especially little that is sufficient to repay you for the trouble of reading. Besides, I have since thought of that distinguished Roman general, of whom I used to read to you so much, if he could content himself and his friends with a 'veni, vidi, vici,' after all his noble exploits which are now to be reviewed in history, surely I should, and I suppose that breaking the spring of his carriage, was not one of his greatest adventures.

"Since our arrival here nothing very material has taken place, unless we account as a remarkable occurrence, the bustle Sir James has been in for the last three or four days; one of his tenants having been taken up for arson. It is in reality a long story and hardly worth repeating. However, as it is the only news, I will briefly relate it to you. This tenant, it seems, took great offence, and indeed entertained a hatred to Sir James, because of a notice received to quit his farm. About a month ago the fellow took every thing of his own out of the barn and set the building on fire; well, last Wednesday he carried his furniture out of his dwelling-house and set that on fire. Upon hearing of which, and the strong suspicions attached to the farmer and a woman, they were both taken up and brought to Netherby. We had justice — here 'with his fair round

belly,' and lawyer —— 'with spectacles on nose, and pouch at side,' looking wondrous wise, laying down the law; we had also several witnesses for two days. At length, after much wrangling, prevarication, and perjury, the woman confessed that the farmer had employed her to do the deed, and that the fire was conveyed by a rush dipped in grease. In short both culprits are committed to Carlisle gaol to take their trial at the assizes next week. It is expected they will both be hanged. Do you think so, sir? I attended the last day of their examination.

We leave the place to-morrow morning, and go direct to St. Mary's Isle, to see Lord Selkirk, where we are to stay till Saturday morning; we shall return home that night. I shall be very sorry to leave Netherby. I walk out every morning before breakfast when it does not rain. Yesterday morning I walked about five miles before breakfast, along the winding banks of the Esk. I could not help drawing out of my pocket my friend Pope, and referring to several passages where he speaks of meandering streams and hanging woods. I enjoy myself exceedingly in this place, because I can take such delightful picturesque walks in the neighbourhood. The day before yesterday I walked about four miles down the banks of the stream, yesterday I walked up; the views were charming. Last Friday I rode with Mr. Fergus, to a place called Penton, about five miles from Netherby, on the banks of the river Liddell, or rather Liddle, to see one of the most magnificent views of cascades, hanging woods, and purling streams you can imagine, although the prospect is rather on a small scale, but much in the style of Corby, which you and I went to see about two years ago. We all visited it again on Saturday last, and my mother and sisters admired its beauties exceedingly, we made a complete day of it, for we left this place at 10 A. M. saw all the cotton manufactories at Carlisle, dined there, and then went to Corby, and returned by ten P. M.

"I have taken constant exercise since I have been here, but I longed very much for you, which greatly damped my

pleasure. It rained this morning, so I had not my usual promenade; but then I have an adequate pleasure in writing to my dear friend and tutor, who, I hope, finds Edinburgh more prolific, in agreeable society, than he expected. My mother received a letter from my father yesterday, wherein he mentions nothing very material. The former, with her kind regards, will be obliged to you to procure a correct account of the proceedings on the 24th, and send it to the latter: she says she will not scruple giving the clerk a guinea. Susan, also, with her kind remembrance, will thank you to desire Daniel to order Grant, the bow and arrow maker, to send the arrows, enclosed in a tin quiver, to Galloway House; and, if not too much, I will also trouble you to remind the waiter at Dumbrick's hotel, to send my sword and arrows. When one is well and agreeably employed, time advances '*cito pede*,'—I recollect you giving me a theme to write on this subject—this is the case at present, for I forgot that the postman was waiting, so I have only time to add, that I am, and ever shall be, my dear sir, yours very sincerely, WILLIAM STEWART."

"P. S. Garlies joined Lord Howe the day before my father arrived."

FROM THE HON. AND REV. GEORGE RUSHOUT,

(SON OF LORD NORTHWICK.)

"REV. SIR,

Northwick Park, Oct. 7, 1818.

"YOUR very kind and consoling letter merited a much earlier acknowledgment; and, looking at the date, I am almost ashamed now to address you, or call to your remembrance the scenes that are past, which time may, in some degree, have reconciled to you, and mitigated the first and most severe impressions. But when it pleased God to deprive me of my ever beloved Caroline, I was obliged, for many reasons, to relinquish a home once so dear to me, and take my little children to scenes where their minds might be a little diverted from the irreparable

loss they had sustained. My servants omitted to forward your letter, and it fell into my hands only a week ago, on my return home. And here I must be allowed to express my sense of the most invaluable instructions you imparted to the tender mind of my Caroline, in her earliest days of infancy. She always spoke of you with the highest gratitude and regard, and attributed the great happiness she enjoyed in this life to the religious education she received under your care; and most gratifying indeed, my dear sir, would it have been to me, ever to have been allowed the opportunity of expressing the same to you in person. I have heard of you from various quarters, and should have been most happy to have been introduced to you.

“I have enclosed a slight sketch of the character of my beloved wife, of which I was induced to print a few copies at the particular request of my friends and neighbours. It is mostly taken from the sermon that was preached by Mr. Watts the Sunday after the funeral: he knew her well, and was acquainted with all her worth—a life so spotless has met with its just reward.

“I most sincerely condole with you in your domestic loss, and doubt not but such kindred spirits have, ere now, met, and exchanged the cares and anxieties of this life for all the joys of heaven. The goodness, the excellence of the departed spirits can form the only consolation to those that are left. I know I feel it to be a very hard task to reconcile oneself to the loss of what has constituted our chief happiness, but our duty urges us to do so, for the sake of those who are left behind; and I hope you will continue to derive support from those principles which you so early instilled into the mind of my Caroline, which made her life so contented and happy, and her death so calm and serene. That you may long enjoy all the consolations arising from this reflection, is the sincere prayer of, reverend and dear sir, your very obedient and obliged,

“GEORGE RUSHOUT.”

“To the Rev. Eliezer Williams,
Vicar of Lampeter.”

Page xcvi. line 24. "It was this spirit of innovation that my father so powerfully combated."

"DEAR BROTHER,

Lampeter, June 17, 1814.

*** "I have been involved in the present controversy, from indignation at seeing the Bible, particularly my father's edition, so disfigured and adulterated by false orthography and unwarrantable alterations. I would have attacked in the notes the alterations which I thought unjustifiable, but I foresaw that it would involve me in religious disputes, if disputes can be religious. I therefore confined myself to the modern adulteration of the Welsh language, of late introduced, under the false pretence of reforming the language. It is indeed a reformation of it in one sense, a *re-forming*, or entirely changing the *form* of it; but in my opinion, it is far from being a reformation, in the sense of an amelioration or amendment. The editor of the paper, under the signature of 'Llewelyn,' I am told, is one of my opponents, who, you know, is a Baptist preacher. 'J. J. of Bala,' is another, who is a young bard, and assumes the name of Ioan Tegid. He is a scholar of Price's, by whom, it is said, he is assisted. 'Hierael Haiarn Hir,' is somebody from your part of the country. There are several besides; but I am told, that they are, *pugilistically* speaking, nearly *giving in*. J. I. has been on a recruiting march, soliciting assistance, but has met with very little success. Some informed him that they could not conscientiously afford him any aid, as they were of my opinion. I wrote the ode in praise of 'Seren Gomer' too hastily, without a grammar or an example before me, from an idea that it would give me weight with the editors of the paper, and that it would induce them to find a place for my compositions. It may have had that effect in some measure, as my productions are always admitted. But some few errors in the Mesurau Caethion have unfortunately given Tegid and some of the minor bards a little temporary advan-

tage over me. I am willing now, however, to recover that ground if possible, and to flog them in verse as well as in prose.

“Our little town will be in a blaze to-night. The Cardiganshire militia are returned home, and we are going to illuminate for the late news of our successes abroad. But I cannot say I am proud of the peace: we have given all to France, Russia, and Prussia, and have reserved to ourselves nothing but the honour of the thing.

“Mr. Johnes, of Hafod, will frank this; he is now in the room, and very goodnaturedly is waiting for me to finish my letter.

“All the children unite in love and duty to you and their aunt, and in love to their cousin Harry. Your affectionate brother,

“E. WILLIAMS.

“P. S. Present my compliments to Mr. Garnons and to the Vicar of Caernarvon, when you see them, and to all friends around Snowdon.”

The following letter to my father, from a well known Welsh scholar, relates to the same subject:

“REV. SIR, Tremeirchion, near St. Asaph, Aug. 2, 1814.

“As I have had it long in contemplation to trouble you with a letter, I have to lament that you should almost pass my door without letting me know it; when you next visit this part of the vale of Clwyd, I trust it will suit you to take a view of its scenery from my cottage, and accept the best accommodations it affords during your stay here.

As an apology for troubling you on this occasion, I have to observe, that the interest of our Established Church calls for the aid of your talents, in support of the Welsh Magazine. It is a work, which Mr. Evans, Llanbadarn-fawr, has repeatedly informed me the Bishop of St. David's is anxious to promote. Mr. Evans and myself agreed in

opinion, that every precaution should be taken to secure its management in evangelical hands, i. e. such as could afford some security, in their own principles, of its real utility as a vehicle of sound instruction. It is a matter of considerable importance, in my view, that we have some security in the character and judgment of its conductors, from the obtrusion of the new-fangled orthography of our intemperate theorists. Only Mr. Evans and myself have embarked in this concern as proprietors. I proposed to him, at the time we were arranging the plan of the work, that five clergymen of congenial views and sentiments engage in it as joint proprietors. He mentioned your name as an ally, whom he thought he should be able to engage ; and accordingly I would humbly beg to submit this proposal to your consideration, and earnestly solicit your compliance. The first number will be attended with some pecuniary sacrifice, but the subsequent numbers will not fail to indemnify all expenses, if proper means are used to force them into circulation. The editors have in some degree committed the clergy of the church of England, in announcing it as a work conducted by them ; but I fear its pretensions to public countenance will not be duly supported without a stronger firm. We are at a great loss for correspondents from South Wales.

I had to undergo last winter inconceivable labour, in procuring a statement of the ecclesiastical occurrences of the diocese of St. David's, and after all failed of success, though I applied for them to all my friends in Cardiganshire and official characters in Carmarthen. I cannot but flatter myself that I shall be favoured with attention from you, that will more than counterbalance my former discouragements and disappointments from South Wales. Every consideration of regard for the credit and character of the clergy, as the effective ministers of religion, imperiously call for the services of their pens. The public in Wales have to acknowledge all their obligations for means of instruction, through the medium of the press, to our dissenting brethren.

The Calvinists support their magazine, *Drysorfa*, by the purchase of 2000 copies periodically. The Wesleyans print monthly 1000 copies of their *Eurgrawn*, and the Dissenters print 2000 of their *Seren Gomer* weekly. Unless the clergy be prohibited the use of the press by a parliamentary enactment, it is to be hoped they will not be wanting in zeal to cooperate in plans to make an increased use of it, and supply the members of their own communion with useful publications or means of instruction.

The second number of *Cylchgrawn Cymru* I expect has been printed by this time at Dolgelley. I fear not quite free from errors. The third number ought to be put to press immediately, in order to effect the publication of four numbers before the close of the year. It has been judged advisable not to admit into the first numbers any article containing any personal reflections. A statement of all the proceedings of the Society for Christian Knowledge in South Wales would be an eligible article for the next number. It is also desirable that the superintendents of Mrs. Bevan's school should make use of it to report their proceedings. You may know of some Welsh literati whom you could influence to become contributors to *Cylchgrawn Cymru*. Mr. Evans always informed me that your Bishop intended to support it with his literary contributions. We wished and hoped that in its spirit and execution it would follow the *Christian Observer* for its model. The new orthography that *Seren Gomer* obtrudes upon the public is to me a serious grievance. I fear the editors of that paper are so perverse that no argument can have any effect upon them, and therefore I wish that another paper could be established in support of the orthodox orthography.

I have been thinking of proposing to the proprietor of our *North Wales Gazette* to enlarge his paper, and appropriate a page to Welsh: the *Carmarthen Journal* or some other paper may be capable of such an alteration in its plan. I wish you would take this hint into consideration. If you are the writer under the signature

of Myrddin, in defence of our national orthography, I trust all the true friends of the church will ever unite with me in acknowledging the obligations we owe you. I had occasion to state in print my objections to William Owen's orthography. I left a copy of my pamphlet with Mr. Evans, Aberystwyth. I should be glad if you would give it a perusal. The ground of my charge against the new orthography as an evil, is the discordancy it produces in the acceptation of words that occur in the church service. When the idea of negation is confined to the particle *di*, the words compounded with it in a positive sense will undergo a radical mutation in their acceptation. Our theorists are adopting a system of inconsistency. Every letter that was not originally Welsh they banish, and yet the *y*, which was originally only a Norman letter, they cannot sufficiently dote upon. It is common sense, and not any reference to antiquated or novel opinions or practices, that condemns mostly their theory. The use of accents was the practice of the dark age, and was exploded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

I have now made some progress in the execution of my edition of the Welsh homilies: about sixty pages have been printed, and I intermit the further prosecution of the work until I have had an opportunity of ascertaining the opinions of the Welsh critics respecting it. The translation of the Welsh homilies, I consider, as distinguished for the best specimen of Welsh. I want, however, to have your opinion on some points. I fear, I must have the first part reprinted; I am anxious to learn whether you could do me the favour of procuring any subscribers for the work. I have the pleasure to remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

“J. ROBERTS.

“P. S. You will oblige me by favouring me with your pleasure, at an early opportunity, respecting the magazine.”

Page cv. line 22. "It was customary for the senior pupils," &c.

He also encouraged his senior pupils in the establishment of a weekly meeting, for the purpose of discussing various moral, historical, and scientific questions. It was called the "Pythagorean society," and was held in the school-room.

It is to this juvenile meeting, perhaps, although it had been established only two or three years before my father's death, that some of those who subsequently distinguished themselves as public speakers, must in some measure attribute their skill in closeness of reasoning and fluency of speech.

Page cix. line 11. "And followed them up with the Comedies of Terence."

The exhibitions of 1815, 1816, and 1818, were thus noticed in the Carmarthen Journal:*

"On Wednesday, the school at Lampeter broke up, when an exhibition of dramatic effort and classical acquirement a second time afforded entertainment to a numerous and highly respectable assemblage. Among them were observed several scholars of first-rate classical attainments, who united in expressing the most lively pleasure and surprise, at the performance of Terence's justly admired 'Phormio.' The principal characters, Phormio, Geta, and Demipho, were well sustained by Messrs. Thomas, Jenkins, and Jones; indeed, the pronunciation and force of expression were well preserved throughout by the several actors. The afterpiece, 'Raising the Wind,' contributed to the amusement of the evening, in which the Jeremy Diddler of Mr. Watkin W. Thomas called forth loud and reiterated applause. It was understood that a

* The Prologues and Epilogues, written by my father, will be found at the end of this volume.

large party attended from Ystradmeiric School, evincing the proper respect and attention felt and paid on the occasion by the Rev. David Williams, although unable himself to attend from indisposition. We cannot but feel peculiar pleasure, when we contemplate the effects which must accrue to this district from the facilities afforded to classical education by two such establishments, as it may be considered an undeniable aphorism, practically proved elsewhere, particularly in Scotland, that in proportion as the facilities and encouragements to liberal education in a country increase, in almost the same proportion will its prosperity be seen to follow as a necessary consequence."

"*Lampeter School*.—The representation of Terence's Comedy of Phormio, in the Town Hall at Lampeter, on the 20th instant, proved very attractive; and the heavy rain that fell on that day seemed to have no other effect than to cause an overflowing house. From the success of the young gentlemen of Lampeter School, on former occasions, great expectations of progressive improvement were excited, which they apparently completely answered, for all the audience, which was very numerous, appeared highly gratified and pleased beyond their hopes. Many good judges, who attended with the classical work in their hands, were surprised to find the young actors so perfect in their parts, so correct in their pronunciation, and so happy in the conception of their respective characters. The dramatis personæ were—

Phormio, Mr. W. W. Thomas.
Demipho, Mr. David Jones, sen.
Chremes, Mr. Eliazar Evans.
Geta, Mr. John Jenkins, sen.
Davus, Mr. T. Jones.
Antipho, Mr. W. Williams.
Phædria, Mr. John Jones.

Dorio, Mr. Walters.
Cratinus, Mr. Jos. Davies.
Hegio, Mr. John Jenkins, jun.
Crito, Mr. James Griffiths.
Sophrone, Mr. David Joel Jenkins.
Nausistrata, Mr. L. Ll. Thomas.

"The grave humour and versatility of talents discovered by Mr. Thomas, in Phormio, proved him admirably adapted for so difficult a part; and he was ably supported by his

facetious friend, Mr. Jenkins, in the witty and bustling character of Geta; of each of them might it be said what the latter says of the former, ‘Ego hominem callidiorem vidi neminem.’ The strong traits in the characters of the old interested brothers, Demipho and Chremes, were happily delineated by the exertions of Messrs. Jones and Evans. Messrs. John Jones and Williams did ample justice to the characters of Antipho and Phædria; Messrs. D. J. Jenkins, and L. Ll. Thomas, in Sophrona and Nausistrata, by their acting, as well as by their antique and appropriate dresses, excited much risibility, and gained great applause. The representatives of the three counsellors, who assumed on this occasion enormous wigs and long robes, by their solemn looks and ambiguous answers, gave a laughable exhibition of the pomp, solemnity, and glorious uncertainty of the law. Mr. T. Jones, in Davus, and Mr. Walters, in Dorio, gained as much applause as those short characters would admit of. Upon the whole, the audience seemed to be exquisitely delighted; and gentlemen of great respectability and judgment who were present, and had seen the piece acted under more favourable circumstances, declared they never saw it more correctly or more happily represented, and expressed highly their approbation of the conduct and talents of the young gentlemen of Lampeter School.”—*Carmarthen Journal*, December 29, 1815.

“The Town Hall of Lampeter was never more crowded than on the 19th instant, when curiosity attracted a prodigious number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, to witness the trial of several young gentlemen of the grammar school at that place. They were put on their trial on a suspicion of murder, and pleaded not guilty. The tide of popular prejudice, at first, ran very strong against them. Can any good come out of Cambria? was the prevalent cry. Many witnesses were brought forward, of most of whom it was observed, that they made their appearance without a subpoena. The principal charge against the young men was, that in some of their juvenile frolics

they had wantonly maltreated and murdered several of the offspring of one Terence, particularly on a late occasion, a favourite child of his, called The Adelphi. The accused employed no counsel, but left their actions to plead for them. Mr. John Hughes, an inexperienced young man, was strongly suspected of maltreating a singular old character, called Mitio, but it appeared in the course of the trial, that he had conceived a very correct idea of the old gentleman, and conducted himself, with respect to him, with great justice and propriety. Mr. Herbert Williams and Mr. Mathias were likewise accused of behaving very singularly with regard to two old gentlemen, called Demea and Hegio; but no proofs could be adduced that there was anything improper in their language or deportment on the occasion, and it appeared that those old characters had been often more roughly handled. Of Mr. John Jenkins, sen. who had been found disguised, and who had assumed the name of Syrus, though he tottered a little upon one occasion, it was admitted that upon the whole he contrived to support his character in such a manner as to give general satisfaction; and that if even his enemies were to take as much pains as he did to pull down the wall, they would not be able to pull down his reputation. The conduct and deportment of Mr. William Williams and Mr. John Jones, with respect to Æschinus and Ctesipho; and of Mr. Watkin Herbert, with regard to Geta, in spite of every attempt to prove the contrary, was allowed to be such as was highly deserving of general approbation. With respect to Mr. Walters' treatment of Sannio, though it appeared that some blows had passed, nothing derogatory to his character could be adduced in evidence against him. It was alleged, that Mr. L. Ll. Thomas and Mr. Henry Jenkins had taken great liberties with two old ladies, named Sostrata and Canthara; but nothing could be proved against them, excepting a little innocent juvenile gallantry, which, on due inquiry, seemed to redound much to their credit. Mr. J. Davis was accused of maltreating Dromo, but was acquitted

with honour. Master Davis was shrewdly suspected of having maltreated a Miss Pampella, as the young lady had been heard to cry out violently; but her cries were proved to have been owing to a very natural cause, and it appeared, upon the whole, that the young gentleman had been guilty of nothing but what merited applause. In short, after a patient hearing of four or five hours, and a very impartial summing up of the evidence by the judges, the young gentlemen were all honorably acquitted, to the great satisfaction of a very crowded court. To conclude, it was proved, on a complete investigation of the business, that the young men, so far from murdering Terence or any of his offspring, had paid him every possible attention, had done him great justice, conducted themselves, with respect to him, with infinite propriety; and that had all Romans been treated in this country with equal attention, our ancestors would never have been denominated *inhospitales Brittani*. If Horace thought it an honourable circumstance, as one of the judges observed, to be able to say of himself,

——me peritus,
Discet Iber, Rhodanique potor,

why should it not be deemed equally honourable to Terence to have it in his power to say,

——me peritus
Discet Iber, Tiviique potor!

When the trial was over, and the young gentlemen's characters completely established and declared unimpeachable, Messrs. Hughes, Lloyd, Evans, Treharn, and several of their schoolfellows, who had distinguished themselves by their talents for music, performed 'God save the king' and several popular airs with great correctness; and the taste and elegance with which they played the violin, the German flute, and clarionet, surprised and highly pleased most of the audience. The hall was decorated and adorned with sceneries and appropriate paintings, admirably well executed by Mr. Miller, Mr. John Evans, and such of

the Lampeter boys as excelled in painting and drawing : a fancy view of a street in Rome, and a distant prospect of the Temple of Diana, attracted much attention. In the course of the evening the afterpiece of the "Lying Valet" was performed : whether this was satirically designed as a hint at the falsehood of the charges brought against them by their principal accuser, is not known ; but it was facetiously observed, of Mr. J. Jenkins's acting in the character of Sharp, and in allusion to the suspicion of murder, &c., "There will be no murder if Sharp's concerned." The dramatis personæ were—

Gayless, Mr. William Williams.	Melissa, Mr. Henry Jenkins.
Sharp, Mr. John Jenkins.	Mrs. Gadabout, Mr. John Davies.
Justice Gattle, Mr. William Walters.	Mrs. Trippet, Mr. Alban T. Davies.
Beau Trippet, Mr. Thomas Jones.	Kitty Pry, Mr. Llewelin Ll. Thomas.
Drunken Cook, Mr. John Jones.	

"Some of the young men displayed uncommon talents ; and of their performance in general it may be fairly said, that if their acting did not rise to the highest pitch of perfection, it was upon the whole considerably above mediocrity."—*Carmarthen Journal*, Dec. 27, 1816.

"At the recent annual examination of the pupils at Lampeter School, the premium generally allotted to the best classical scholar was adjudged to Mr. John Jones, the son of Hugh Jones, esq. The prize for the best copy of Latin verses, on the beauties of the Spring, was won by Mr. Rice Rees, nephew of the Rev. W. J. Rees, Rural Dean of Melenith, Radnorshire, the subject taken from Virgil :

Et nunc omnis æger, nunc omnis parturit arbos :
Nunc frondent sylvæ, nunc formosissimus annus.

"The premium for the most elegant specimen of Hebrew caligraphy was adjudged to Mr. David Lewis, and that usually given for the best abridgment of a sermon was assigned to Mr. Thomas Hassall, son of the Rev. Mr. Hassall, Paramatta, New South Wales. Mr. W. H. Miller, the son of Capt. Miller, of Llandovery, passed the

best examination in French and mathematics. Mr. Thomas had a premium for his great proficiency in psalmody; and Mr. David E. Morgan, for his extraordinary skill in music, as well as for his assiduity and attention in attempting to improve his schoolfellows in that pleasing science. After the examination, the recitations began before a select and discerning audience, consisting chiefly of the friends and relatives of the young gentlemen of the school. Mr. John Lloyd fluently recited the 20th chapter of Exodus, and some of the Psalms, in Hebrew, with great correctness and Rabbinical precision. Mr. George A. Harris recited Miltiades' celebrated Address to Callimachus before the Battle of Marathon, from the Greek of Herodotus. Master Peter Bailey Williams recited four Odes from the Greek of Anacreon. Messrs. W. Rowlands, D. Morgan, and D. Griffith, jun. recited each three or four chapters from the Greek Testament. Messrs. William and David Davies recited the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, in Latin, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Mr. W. H. Miller, the description of the Massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, in French, from Voltaire's *Henriade*. Messrs. Maurice, Atterbury, Evans, and Henry Jenkins, the scene between Juba and Syphax, in English, from Addison's *Cato*. Messrs. David E. Morgan, and Daniel Evans, Brutus and Cassius's Quarrel and Reconciliation, from Shakespeare. Mr. John Jenkins, Walpole's speech on Triennial Parliaments; and Mr. John Hughes, Mr. Pitt's reply, from the Parliamentary Debates. Messrs. Henry Lloyd Harris, and Edward T. Prichard, the mode of Examining a Witness, from the *Encyclopædia of Wit*. Mr. Thomas Jones, sen. 250 lines from Dr. Young's *Night Thoughts*. Mr. Thomas Thomas, jun. Pope's sacred Eclogue of the Messiah. Mr. Rice Rees, Gray's *Elegy*. St. George A. Williams, the parting of Hector and Andromache, from Pope's translation of the *Iliad* of Homer. Mr. D. Thomas, sen. Address to the Deity. Mr. D. Thomas, jun. Antony's Oration over Cæsar's body, from Shakespeare. Mr. Daniel Griffith,

the story of Sir Balaam, from Pope's Poems. Mr. William Evans, the Duke of Gloucester's Speech to the Nobles, from Shakespeare. Master A. T. J. Gwynne, son of Major Gwynne, of Monachty, aged eight years, recited, with much elocution and correctness, about 200 lines from Addison's Poetical Works. Mr. Thomas Jones, jun. son of Hugh Jones, esq. Lampeter, repeated Gilpin's Equestrian Expedition, from Cowper's Poems, with great humour and drollery. Mr. Thomas Evans, a scene at the Payment of Tithes, from Cowper's Poems. Messrs. John Davies and David Jones, Hannibal's Address to his Soldiers. Mr. David Griffiths, Galgacus's animated Speech to the Britons prior to the Battle of the Grampian Hills, from Tacitus. Messrs. Hassall and David Jones, the dialogue between Owen Glendwr and Henry Hotspur, from Shakspeare. Mr. Evan Evans, one of Miss Bowdler's Sermons. Mr. Daniel Evans obtained a premium, and acquired great applause by the very animated and superior manner in which he recited one of Dr. Blair's Sermons. Mr. John Bowen, recited a Welsh Sermon, with great correctness and animation, from the admired works of the late celebrated Evan Evans, surnamed *Longobardus*, or *Prydydd hir*. There were several other respectable recitations, as well in English as in the learned languages, which it would be tedious to enumerate; most of which were delivered with great propriety and correctness, and received with general applause.

"After the recitations, Terence's favourite comedy of the Eunuchus was performed, by the senior gentleman of the seminary, in the Town Hall, before a very crowded and well informed audience, with admirable effect. Mr. John Jenkins, from his herculean stature, stentorian voice, and military air, appeared to be naturally calculated for the blustering character of the boasting Thraso, and went through the part with uncommon spirit, animation, and appropriate humour; Mr. John Lloyd was equally happy in his representation of the parasite Gnatho, and contrived

to concentrate so much fun and comic oddity in the whole of his dress and address, that the house was in a roar of laughter whenever he appeared on the stage. Mr. George A. Harries was extremely lively, correct, and characteristic, in his representation of the pseudo-Eunuch; and the whole of his performance went off with unbounded applause. His friend and schoolfellow, Mr. Hassall, having sailed some time since near the Malacca Isles, was able to dress him in the costume of a Malay chief, with an oriental turban or large bonnet, and a loose vesture, with a sash and dagger, which had an imposing appearance, and seemed well calculated to complete his disguise, and insure the success of the intended intrigue. Mr. John Hughes was very able in his delineation of the character of Parmeno, as was Mr. Henry Jenkins, in his manner of exhibiting the feelings of the youthful, but well educated Phædria. Mr. Daniel Evans, as Antipho, was admirable in the scene between him and Chærea, where the latter surprises with a ludicrous account of the happy success of his enterprise; and Mr. Benjamin Evans, in the character of Chremes, especially in the drunken scene, and in his dialogue with Pythias, excited much risibility. But the best acting of the evening was thought to be that of Mr. W. H. Miller, in the character of Thais: he was extremely perfect in his part, and seemed to have formed a just conception of the character he had to represent; and his dress, adorned with a profusion of artificial diamonds, and his elegant and insinuating manner, gave a striking picture of an artful courtesan of the superior order. Where all, however, went through their respective parts with so much excellence, it would be invidious to attempt to attract the rays of admiration to the brilliant merit of one. Mr. John Bowen, as Sanga, went through his part with great humour, and gave with spirit the comic sentence of 'where the spirit of the general was so daring, and the courage of the troops so great, I thought the affair (the siege of the house of Thais) would not terminate without bloodshed; and therefore, I

concluded this (a napkin, his only weapon in battle) might be useful, to wipe off the blood.' Suffice it to say, that the whole exceeded expectation; and that the other dramatis personæ, Mr. Thomas Jones, as Dorus: Mr. John Davies, as Laches, an old man, the father of Phædria; Mr. Henry Lloyd Harries, as Dorias; and Mr. William Evans, as Sophron, an antiquated nurse, exerted themselves with great spirit, taste, and judgment, and succeeded in giving a happy representation of the characters allotted them. The young men are generally their own musicians, as well as their own scene-painters; 'but upon this occasion, their best musical performers having parts to perform in another department, they were obliged to unite their resources in engaging an experienced band for the entertainment of the company. The scenes, however, were of their own painting; and the view of Athens, with a distant prospect of the temple of Minerva, from an ancient tableau, by Mr. Miller, was viewed with general admiration. Having been prevented, in consequence of some lamented events, from acting this their favourite comedy sooner, they were thought, from delay, to have become more than usually perfect and mellow in their parts; and several learned gentlemen from Oxford and Cambridge, who were present, highly complimented them on the correctness of their accent, the propriety of their pronunciation, and their general improvement, since they last had witnessed their performances. After the play, for the benefit of that part of the audience which was not conversant with the Latin language, the moral and popular afterpiece of "High Life below Stairs," was given in great style. The dramatis personæ were—

Freeman, Mr. Benjamin Evans.
 Lovel, Mr. John Hughes.
 Robert, (a servant) Mr. T. Jones.
 My Lord Duke, Mr. H. Jenkins.
 Sir Harry, Mr. George A. Harries.
 Lady Bab, Mr. St. George A. Williams.

Lady Charlotte, Mr. D. Evans,
 Thomas, (a servant) Mr. J. Lloyd.
 A lame Fiddler, Mr. J. Lloyd.
 Philip, (a servant) Mr. J. Jenkins.
 Knighton, (a black girl) Mr. E. T. Pritchard.
 Mrs. Kitty, Mr. John Davis, jun.

“Mr. H. Jenkins and Mr. G. Harries moved through their parts with much mock elegance and laughable affectation of fashion. Mr. J. Hughes gave his part so high a colouring, and succeeded so well, that in the country boy, he was hardly recognized as the same person who had distinguished himself in Lovel. Mr. J. Lloyd’s versatility of talent excited surprise.”—*Carmarthen Journal*. Dec. 16th, 1818.

Page cx. line 2. “An object almost of adoration.”

The arm-chair in which he usually sat when in school was purchased, after his death, by one of his pupils, who kept the precious relic in his study among the most valued of his treasures. On a particular occasion one of his master’s sons attempted to occupy that chair; the purchaser seized him by the collar and dragged him away, saying, “No, sir, nobody shall sit in that chair until he is worthy of your father.”

Page cxi. line 30. “Examination every year for the Easter prizes,” &c.

These examinations were held on the Monday in Easter week, after divine service in the morning; and a premium of twenty shillings worth of books was given to any one, under nineteen years of age, who should pass the best examination in the Greek Testament, Epictetus, and Cicero’s Offices. Premiums were likewise given for the best abridgment of a sermon, for Hebrew caligraphy, and psalmody. These classical trials of skill were wound up by a series of sermons, dialogues, and speeches, which generally attracted much company, and seldom failed to gratify the auditors.

There were also exhibitions of ten pounds a year for the maintenance of the scholars, educated in any of the licensed grammar schools, for four years after the age of nineteen; but no pupil was admissible as a candidate who had not obtained a premium at the Easter examination.

The qualification was the best examination in the Greek Testament, Homer's *Iliad*, Epictetus, Cicero's *Offices*, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and any other classical author fixed upon by the electors. Grotius de *Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, Dr. Porteus's *Summary of Evidences*, and Burkhardt's *System of Divinity* were also used on the occasion.

Four or five of the Lampeter scholars were generally successful competitors for these exhibitions.

Similar examinations in the grammar schools in North Wales might be attended with incalculable benefit.

Page cxii. line 13. "I have seven pupils applying for orders this week," &c.

The following was the course of the examination :

Tuesday. Candidates with English titles examined in English reading and composition. Candidates with Welsh titles examined in Welsh reading and composition.

Wednesday. To give written answers in English to written queries.

Thursday. Latin exercises, and examination in the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament.

Friday. Examination in "*Grotius de Ver. Rel. Chris.*," "*Burnet de Fide et Officiis Christianorum*," "*Clericus de Elegenda Sententiâ*," "*Jewell's Apology*," Nicholl's *Defensio Ecclesiæ Angl.*," and the Articles of the Church of England.

Saturday. To sign the Articles, &c. and to attend the Charge.

Sunday. Ordination.

Page cxiv. line 14. "The duties of a Christian soldier."

"He that is great in arms is greater still
If he be famed for just and holy courses."

SHAKESPEARE.

Page cxxvi. line 28. "In Latin Sapphics."

AD CELEBREM DOCTUMQUE CAUSIDICUM
DOMINUM WARUM

CARMEN SALUTANDI MUNUS FERENS.

O ! potens verbis, studiisque legum,
Quem suâ curâ coluere musæ :
Te colo votis, meritoque dono
Lætus honore.

Fata te vultu videant benigno,
Sit placens uxor, sobolesque pollens,
Sint tibi culti, pia corda nati,
Auspice cœlo.

Mox tua famâ resonet senatus
Et tibi vatum bene cedat omne,
Juris interpretæ patriæ forique
Seu decus audis.

Seu sedes inter lepidos sodales
Arbiter vini placidus cibique,
Dum jocos spargit tua vox placentes
More faceto.

Quin tibi musæ placuit canoræ
Ardor, et cordi studiosa cura
Nunc adest—cultus manet artiumque
Fausta lubido.

Inter insanas dubiasque lites,
Inter ærumnas variasque legis,
Inter incensos populos, forique
Jurgia diri.

Inter abruptas ita rivus errat
Cambriæ rupes, amat ire et inter
Saxa, per fractos tumidosque colles,
Montis iniqui.

Crescit et turget, nova prata quærens,
 Jam per augustas ruit ille rimas,
 Jam jacet spumas, agit et superbè
 Flumen ad altum.

Dum capræ balant, sonat atque voce
 Grex tenella errans ovium, pecusque
 Mugit arbusta inter opaca lætum,
 Gramina carpens.

Dum cadit torrens scopulos per altos,
 Implet et sylvas querulo sonore
 Cuncta gens ingens volucrum, palumbes
 Murmura fundunt.

Pastor aut tentat modulari avenâ
 Carmen, aut nympham celebret venustam
 Valle jucundâ, resonat canorè
 Cimbrica chorda.

Urbis excelsæ* strepitum relinque:
 Non mægis fumi placeant popinæ,
 Nec foro lites populi calentis,
 Igne furenti.†

Rus petas florens, humilesque sedes,
 Britonum campos et amæna tecta,
 Tivii ripas, fluvii sonari,
 Arvaque nostra.

Vere dum vocalis adest hirundo,
 Adveni nostras, bonus hospes, oras,
 Fac tuo cunctos hilares lepore,
 Non sine risu.

Te vocant unà veteres sodales,
 Te vocant omnes citharis puellæ,
 Te manet simplex epulumque vini, et
 Pocula læta.

* London.

† An allusion to the "ignis civilis," or the disturbances that then reigned in the metropolis,—perhaps the Cato Street conspiracy.

Cambriæ ruris genialis arva,
 Te vocant omnes precibus cohortes
 Quæ colunt agros; tibi ubique pendent
 Hospita tecta.

Page cxxxii. line 9. "On his return homewards."
 He thus sketches a part of his journey:

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

Lampeter, March 6, 1819.

"THE scene would have appeared to advantage, as we approached Llandegai,* if we had not parted from you, which threw a gloom over it. There was an appearance of industry, wealth, and elegance, that we had not witnessed in that part of the country. The hardy natives seemed remarkably active in their respective avocations; some in driving their waggons along the railway, others in repairing their fences and cultivating their farms. The houses and fields in the environs, displayed every evidence of opulence and fertility, and Penrhyn Castle and the neighbouring seats exhibited a considerable degree of magnificence and neatness. A bird's-eye view of Beaumaris, glittering in the sun, reminded me of Naples, and with its thriving plantations and verdant lawns in the back ground, contrasted with the sombre aspect of the castellated ruins and projecting beach in the foreground, together with the shipping in the road, contributed not a little to heighten the richness of the landscape. It was very fine when we arrived at Aber, the sun shone, and the buildings round the place reminded me of an inn on the English road; and I suppose Boniface had not neglected to profit by his travels, for no English innkeeper could have charged better.

* Mr. W. and one of his sons, who was his companion, travelled across the country from Llanrug; so that the beautiful view alluded to suddenly opened upon them, as they entered the post road, near the Llandigai turnpike. Mr. W.'s brother escorted them as far as Pentir, and there parted from them.—*Editor.*

The country in the vicinity of Aber formed a very striking contrast with the abrupt and wild scenery near Penmaen-mawr. The sky lowered, and 'like a dark ceiling stood,' and the rain began to descend in torrents, everything seemed to conspire to add to the terrific majesty of the aspiring mountain. As we ascended, it blew almost a hurricane, the sea birds could neither float upon the gale, nor trust themselves to the swelling surge, but were obliged to shelter themselves in the clefts of the adjoining rocks. We had revelled in the morning sunshine of the loveliest of God's works, and now, amidst the terrors of a mountain storm, which added to the effect, we were witnessing the grandest emblems of His power and wisdom. Those men, indeed, are not to be envied, whose bosoms, in the midst of such magnificent scenes, are not filled with the adoring admiration of the Creator's incomprehensible majesty. I could not help reflecting how awful this mountainous pass must have appeared, when there was no wall between the road and the precipice hanging over the sea, when the path was narrow, and when the trembling traveller, according to my father's description, was under the necessity of leading his horse over rugged and slippery steps cut in the rock: the road, however, at present appears free from danger; it is only the beetling crags above, overhanging the passing traveller, and the foaming waves below, lashing the gigantic mountain's side, that render the scene tremendous.

"As we descended into the next deep valley we were considerably sheltered from the storm, and as we trotted along, a small building on the road side threw open its doors, and a tumultuous crowd of school-boys burst forth in all the rude hilarity of rustic mirth: to them the storm seemed fun, and the shower a frolic; and some of them, to show their agility, kept pace with the horses nearly a mile. The next hill appeared, if possible, more terrific than Penmaen-mawr, the rocks seemed steeper, and the ravines more deep, and though the distance intercepted us from the stunning noise of the boiling ocean, the roughness, the barren-

ness, and the magnificence of the perspective, seemed such as might have exercised to some purpose the pencil of Salvator Rosa. From the present direction of our route, we were considerably more exposed to the pelting storm and the driving rain than on the summit of Penmaenmawr. We were cold, and completely drenched. This, you will say, was enough to cool the ardour of a person going on an enterprise of knight-errantry.

“A distant view of Conway administered at length some degree of consolation to us. I had fixed upon this place as my head quarters for the night, being in no degree dubious of finding here all appliances and means for welcome and refreshment. On our arrival we were directed to the best inn. The appearance of the harp suspended over the door seemed to promise us harmony, if not hospitality. After some vociferation, the ostler made his official bow, and our horses got under cover, and we were shown into a spacious room without a fire! Chilled and wet as I was, this gave me some degree of warmth. I called with some impatience for the landlord: an odd figure presently made its appearance, and having learned the nature of my complaint, it informed me with great *sang froid* that they had no coals, and that there were none at Conway; however, he assured me they expected a vessel the following day, and, should it arrive, he gave me his word that he would use every exertion to procure fuel, and to make us a good fire! This was but poor comfort to travellers dripping with the wet, and shivering with cold. I could not hear the story with the patience it was delivered, I must own; and insisted upon it, that if there were a scarcity of coals, there could be no scarcity of blocks at Conway, and that I was resolved, *coute qui coute*, to have them instantly produced, and a roaring fire made. Whether his nerves were shocked at the manner in which this demand was made, or whether he thought his own block in danger, he disappeared in an instant, and we saw no more of him; but excellent materials of the kind required were soon collected, and a

capital fire "blazed upon the hearth." Having changed our dripping habiliments, and got them dried for the next day, we procured some odd volumes on miscellaneous subjects, and passed the remainder of the evening very comfortably. Our friends of the hostelry proved on the whole very civil, and by a few presents to the children, and douceurs to the retainers, we succeeded in effacing in some measure whatever unfavourable impression our first rough collision might have made. The smirking female waiter seemed diverted at the scene she had witnessed, and expressed her exultation at the lesson her employers had received for their improvidence.

"The following morning opened upon us with one of her best spring smiles, and seemed to promise us a more flattering reception than we experienced the antecedent evening. We made our exit at an early hour at one of the sally-ports, and regretted much we had not time to examine more minutely the venerable antiquities and architectural beauties of the place. We got on board the ferry boat* without difficulty. It was almost a dead calm; the water scene was beautiful, Conway with its ivied towers appearing to the greatest advantage from the river. I forgot to state, that, by an odd accident, we met at Aber with a gentleman† who had shown us very great attention while we were in Dublin, by the way, that very intelligent and well informed man to whom, I told you, we were introduced by our mutual friend, Mrs. M— G——, and who escorted us to Trinity College, the Bank, and other public buildings. He was travelling by the mail, and was on his way to Liverpool. As the weather was very boisterous the preceding evening, and as I felt particularly anxious for the safety of my friend, I inquired of the boatman how the passengers got over the ferry. His answer implied, (for he spoke in Welsh) that

* This was before the Suspension bridge was constructed.

† J. Purser, esq. Rathmines Castle, Dublin.

they had copious aspersions, but that there had been no immersion. This gave rise to several questions relative to the general safety of the passage, and the loss of the mail coach passengers some years since, when he informed me that there were only two saved, out of fourteen: on my asking him what had become of those two, he replied, 'One of them, Sir, is since gone to his rest,' (i'w orphwysfa, as he prettily expressed it) 'and there is the other,' pointing to a little, spare, weather-beaten man, tugging with heart and main at one of the oars. We were soon landed, and it was not long ere we reached Ll——, where I did all I could to deliver your letter, but I could not meet with the lady; I found the nest, but the bird had flown. Her residence is a neat box, in very good order. A decent servant having opened the door, I requested permission to leave my name, and was ushered into an elegant parlour, where, pen and paper being given me, I wrote a few lines, and took my leave. By a singular adventure, on my return to the inn, I came in contact with the sprightly lady whose agility you once so much admired. She does not seem to be as active in her motions as she once was, though her tongue appeared to have lost none of its wonted elasticity. She gave me a satisfactory account of the direction in which the bird had taken flight, and I determined to pursue. On my arrival at —— I found my friend A —— was not at home. However, I endeavoured to avail myself of my having been a little before in the environs of the Liffey, if not the Shannon, assumed a bold face, and introduced myself in the Hibernian style to Mrs. A——. I was very hospitably received, and asked to stop to dinner, which of course I had not modesty enough to refuse. While dinner was getting ready I affected business and the necessity of delivering a letter on an important subject at R——; on my arrival there I met Captain —— on the lawn, in company with young A——, to whom I was introduced. The Captain was remarkably friendly, and soon afforded me an opportunity of presenting your letter in person to the lady to whom

it was addressed, and while she is perusing it, I beg leave to pause."——

Page cxxxii. line 19. "Straitened circumstances."

It is but justice to my father's memory to remark, that his pecuniary embarrassments were not owing to any extravagance on his part, for no man had fewer artificial wants, or lived less to himself. In his eleemosynary distributions he exercised great liberality—that liberality which shows itself in the quiet acts of silent charity, allowing no interested considerations to stop his hand or stint his benevolence. He was, in short, generous to a degree of weakness, and many a poor wretch would have perished, but for his heart directing a hand

"Open as day to melting charity."

He was returning home one evening from a parochial visit, in an early part of his life, when he was accosted by a beggar, who made the usual representations of distress and hunger: my father, disbelieving his tale, and supposing him to be an impostor, did not relieve him. On the following morning, my father, hearing that the body of a stranger had been found in a neighbouring pond, went to see it, and discovered it to be the remains of the identical man who had applied to him for alms on the previous evening. This incident so affected his feelings, that appeals to him were never afterwards made in vain. But, alas! in his eagerness to administer to the distresses of others, he often overlooked his own necessities, and distributed what perhaps, in the opinion of many, ought to have been reserved for his own family. Yet it was not in objects of this kind that his liberality was so apparent, to the detriment of his own temporal interests. His kindness of heart led him into greater imprudence. He would sometimes tender his bail in order to relieve his neighbour in distress;

and this more than once proved the cause of much subsequent anxiety. In illustration of this, one instance out of many may be mentioned. A respectable and honest tradesman was arrested for debt, and the bailiffs were in the act of dragging him to prison: having tried all means to satisfy these officers of the law in vain, he had recourse, at last, to the "poor man's friend." My father happening just at that time to have by him a sum of money, intended for other purposes, handed it over to the poor man, and thus saved him from gaol, and perhaps from eventual ruin.

Page cxliii. line 2. "Failed not to give them his counsel."

Though there are no dates to the following letters, they seem to find here their appropriate place:

"MY DEAR —,

"Now that you are removed from my immediate observation, I can only follow you with my prayers and advice, and my earnest hope is, my dear boy, that they may be accompanied by the Divine blessing. I do not like that you should be troublesome to anybody, but I should prefer your being at V——, to your being at W——, and your keeping company with M. to your associating with W. E., as much good may be learned from the former, and nothing but mischief, I fear, acquired by passing your time with the latter. I wish particularly to impress this on your mind, not because the one is of higher family than the other, as you may perceive from what I have already said; for aristocracy of birth is of small consideration, unless accompanied by that uprightness of mind and purity of conduct which would secure a boy against temptation, and prevent his doing a mean and unworthy action; but because habits of vice and idleness, especially at your ductile age, are more readily formed than those of virtue and diligence, and because your future happiness will be affected in proportion as these qualities of the heart and mind predo-

minate. Knowing, therefore, that nothing can compensate for the contagion of bad example, I feel doubly anxious to direct you in the choice of your associates. Choose none, then, but such as fear God, remembering that 'he that walketh with wise men shall be wise, but a companion of fools shall be destroyed.'

"In the morning, and at every hour when you are not engaged in good society or in useful enterprises, you should peruse some good book, or pursue some profitable study. Our time here is so short, that we should always improve it to the best advantage; for your youthful years, you will find, will pass away to your regret, before you acquire knowledge enough to enable you to appear with credit as a man. 'Perdidi diem,' was the exclamation of a Roman emperor, when he recollected he had spent a day without doing some good. And Seneca says, that 'time is the only thing of which it is a virtue to be covetous.' If such were the sentiments of Pagans, what ought to be yours, who are recommended by higher authority, to 'redeem the time, because the days are evil.' Be diligent, therefore, and be virtuous. Rise early, and read daily some portion of the Bible, or of the Greek Testament. Above all, be attentive to your devotions, morning and evening, for without this you can expect no blessing upon any of your employments. Some of the best kings and most illustrious heroes we have had have exemplified this truth in their lives, and it is to this that we must attribute the glory which our nation has attained above all other countries on the face of the earth. It is recorded of George II. that during the wars of that period, he would be in his closet between five and six o'clock in the morning, winter and summer, praying for the success of his fleet and armies; and it is said that our present excellent king is a man of prayer, and devotes much of his time to religious exercises. History relates of Admirals Duncan and Harlborough, that they seldom entered an engagement without first invoking the aid and protection of the Almighty. In fact, numerous

are the instances that I could mention of others, if time permitted, and of many distinguished literary men and preachers of the gospel who have prospered in their studies in proportion to their faithfulness in this duty; and if it were more attended to, perhaps there would be more peace and tranquillity in our country, and fewer errors of judgment in the writings of our authors.

“But my paper warns me to leave off; indeed, I have written more than I intended, as I am at present much occupied; but if you profit by what I have said, I shall consider myself amply repaid. Let secret prayer be constantly performed before you engage in the duties of the day, and let that prayer be always offered up in the name of your Redeemer, who is the only mediator between God and man. Endeavour to make Him your friend and protector, and you will not be forgetful of your duty, to, my dear —, your affectionate father,

“ E. WILLIAMS.”

“ MY DEAR —

“I HOPED in consequence of what I said in my last, that I should have had the pleasure of seeing you at home to-day; but I am disappointed, and I fear you tire out your hospitable friends by remaining so long at their house. On a visit, you should always contrive to regulate your conduct and your stay in such a manner, that people may wish for more of your company rather than wish you to depart sooner than you desire. I believe Mr. and Mrs. Harries are very good and kind to you, but you should not abuse their good nature. I shall expect to hear a favourable account of you when I see them; be assured I shall have a full account of your conduct from some person or other, and therefore I hope that you will take care that that account may be to your credit.

“I expect you will dedicate some part of every day to your studies, that you may not forget everything you have learnt. It is said of Alfred, king of England, that notwithstanding

his many avocations as a monarch, he dedicated eight hours every day to his studies ; you have not quite so many things to occupy your attention as king Alfred had, and therefore there can be no hardship in your giving up a few hours daily, from your amusements, to the more useful employment of prosecuting your studies, and improving your mind.

“Another attention you should not fail of paying yourself, (what I ought to have named first) while you study to improve your mind, is to study to improve your heart, by being duly attentive to your Bible and to your devotions. This, properly speaking, you cannot do of your ownself: it is a change of heart you want, and what you ought often to pray for, like the Psalmist of old, ‘Give me a clean heart O Lord ! and renew a right spirit within me.’ Your best protector is the Almighty, and you should not, at the least, forget to begin and terminate every day by thanking Him for his care, requesting him to preserve you from danger, and begging his divine influence to enable you to conduct yourself in such a manner as may secure your present comfort and future happiness. While you are thus careful in what may regard yourself, you should not forget what may regard others, by studying to behave yourself with politeness, civility, and attention to everybody: no person will ever love you or respect you if you behave yourself with rudeness and incivility towards those you converse with. Your conduct should always be tinged with civility to the meanest individual, and with respect and great politeness towards those who are your superiors. You should not be inattentive to these things. You can behave yourself with considerable propriety when you choose it, and therefore you should endeavour to win the affection and gain the friendship and good opinion of every person with whom you associate. I should rather hear you were the best behaved boy, or the best scholar, in company, than hear that you are the best sportsman ; and should prefer hearing that you hold your knife and fork well at table, and behave yourself

with elegance at dinner or at the tea-table, to being informed that you can carry a double-barrelled gun, or that you have shot an owl flying or a partridge on the wing. Where is the use of learning to charge an empty gun, if you know not how to charge or improve your mind? or of carrying a full charged fowlingpiece, while you bear an empty head on your shoulders?

“I have lately heard from Sir George Staunton, a relation of your lamented mamma: when he was twelve years old he could write Latin, and even speak it, with considerable correctness; at the age of thirteen he accompanied his father to China, and learnt the language of that country so well that the emperor noticed him, and was so pleased with him that he presented him with an elegant silken purse, which there is considered as a mark of great distinction. He was some years afterwards established as a supercargo at Canton, and had a salary of three thousand pounds a year. He staid there some years, and having made a considerable addition to his fortune, he returned home to inherit his father’s title and estates, and is now as rich and as well informed a man as any in England. You see what may be done by diligence and good conduct. He was also a very affectionate boy, and there are many very pleasing anecdotes told of him. It is said that while on board the Ambassador’s ship, Sir George Leonard Staunton, imagining that a French man of war was about to engage them, ordered his son, in Latin, to go down below deck; the other hesitated for a moment, as if contending between duty and affection, and then firmly replied, ‘*Mi pater, nunquam te desiram.*’ I should be proud to own such a son as this: I therefore hold him up to you as an example of diligence and of filial affection. If you love me you would do all in your power to become a good scholar as well as a good man, and be a credit to yourself and a comfort to, my dear —, your affectionate father,

“E. WILLIAMS.

" P. S. Present my remembrances to Mr. and Mrs. Harries, and Captain Miller, &c. I feel obliged to them for their kindness to you. I will send for you on Monday. All here unite in love. Caroline is better. I write in haste."

Page cxlviii, line 13. " Some of his friends and pupils called."

The following extracts from a letter, written a few months ago, are too deeply interesting to be withheld from the reader :

" As the Christmas vacation of 1819 approached, the subject of the memoir was visibly declining in health, and was occasionally absent from his post eight or nine days previous to the period fixed for separation. One morning when all had been assembled for an hour, waiting his arrival, a message was received from him, expressing his regret at being unable to attend, begging, at the same time, that the recess should commence on that day, and also expressing a hope of the pleasure of meeting again about the latter end of January. At this announcement there was a deep and impressive silence; and in going out, each one observed to his fellow, ' We shall never see him here again !' Such a gloomy foreboding was verified by the event.

" My season of relaxation was passed at Llanelly. I returned to my lodgings in the town of Lampeter, on the 20th of January, 1820. On my arrival at the door, I was greeted with the intelligence, that the Rev. Mr. Williams was on the eve of his departure, that he had sent four times to inquire whether I had arrived, and that he wished much to see me. Of course a very short time sufficed to place me by his side; he was sitting in an easy chair, alongside of a high writing desk, with his hand supporting his face, and was speaking earnestly to dumb listeners on the subject of the Psalmist's expression, ' the snares of death

have compassed me round about.' He then observed that I was in the room, and affectionately welcomed me, saying, 'David Jones,' (the name by which he always familiarly addressed me) 'I am very glad to see you; I have but a few minutes to live, and I am anxious for your welfare. I think you are destined to be useful in the church, and I am anxious to get you ordained sooner than the prescribed rules of this diocese allow. I wish you to go to Dr. Williams, of Cowbridge, in my name. I meant to write to him on the subject, but it is now too late. Tell him that I recommend you to him with my dying breath.' I begged of him to dismiss all thoughts of me, and apply himself to other and weightier matters: his reply was, 'I must think of my dear Saviour's work; I can trust him; I am dying, but I am not afraid.' Hearing the sobs of those around him, he said, 'My dear children, it was crying I heard you first, it is crying I hear you last; you will go crying through the world, but I hope you will afterwards for ever rejoice.'

"His auditory consisted of a worthy and still respected lady from the town, her youngest son, two or three ordained pupils, a young gentleman from London, and myself. Of course his children were there also. Late in the evening, (I forget the hour), after his speech had become a little impaired, and he continued conversing most interestingly, until he was much exhausted: I ventured to approach him and said, 'Dear Sir, take some rest and refresh yourself, and then you can speak to us again by and by;' he replied, at the same time adjusting the pillow under his elbow, 'No, I shall not speak again. I will now lay my head on this pillow, and forget all worldly cares and anxieties, and commit my soul to the hands of my Saviour.' He then calmly reclined his head, and seemed to slumber with the ease of an infant in its cradle, I know not how long, when Mrs. Jenkins, the friend above alluded to, went up to him, and took hold of his hand, dropped it, and whispered, 'He is gone!'

"It has been my lot to witness the end of many, at home

and abroad, by sea and by land, but never such a gentle breaking of the 'silver cord' as this; never such a noiseless destruction of the 'golden bowl,' or the 'pitcher at the fountain!'

"Notwithstanding his imperfections, I believe that he lived the life of the righteous, and died the death of the righteous, and as such may my end be like his. Very truly yours,

"DAVID T. JONES."*

Page clv. line 24. "More deeply lamented."

The following tribute was paid to his memory, by one of his pupils, the Rev. John Jones, curate of Denbigh, then a youth :

IN OBITUM ERUDITISSIMI ET VENERANDI
VIRI ELIEZER WILLIAMS, A. M.

LAMPETRIENSIS SCHOLÆ PRÆSIDIS CONDITORISQUE.

QUID fles ! alma parens ! Cambria nobilis
Planctus mitte tuos ; plus nimio doles !
Non reddi lacrymis, non precibus potest
Defunctus ; tumulo conditus invido.
Multa laude recens heu bonus occidit ! 5
Tu mecum potius carminibus piis
Vatis concelebres egregium decus.
Te quocunque voces, Phœbe pater, sequar !
Nunc, O Musa potens ! flebilibus precor
Aptetur, numeris nomen amabile. 10
Fac ne longa dies et revolubiles
Anni hæc invidiâ munera diruant.
Annales utinam tempus ad ultimum
Virtutem memorent ; nam pietas jubet
Inscriptum titulis corpus humo tegi ; 15

* Professor of Welsh at St. David's College, Lampeter, and late chaplain to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company.

Donec longa dies imminuit notas.
 Quid flemus? Periit nec tumido mari,
 Nec fatis dubiis occubuit miser:
 Illum sed rapuit dira necessitas;
 Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
 Nulli flebilior, quam tibi Cambria.
 O! plorate bonis tu satîs omnibus!
 Te desiderio Wallia nobilis
 Multo prosequitur; sed pietas nova
 Te lethi è tenebris evehit ad Deum:
 In cœlis meritò muneribus suis,
 Te virtus onerat; cùm, mea Pieri,
 Spes nostras referas mentibus anxiis,
 Cœlestes iniit nullus adhùc domos,
 Sanctorum socius, dignior incola:
 Tali orbata tamèn Cambria filio,
 Luges heu! nimium victa, doloribus:
 Crines dilaniat Lampeter* hispidos,
 Tristi sistit aquas flumine Teucrobis,†
 Nam vatem audierat carmina dicere:
 Auctor Phœbe, precor, da mihi spiritum;
 Indictum ore meo, nùm patiar mori?
 Grates tu meritis accipe debitas;
 Factas, non statuas, artificis manu,
 Ponemus, memores non tabulas tibi:
 Munus carmen erit; sit super additum
 Hoc carmen, titulo cum memorabili,—
 “En docti tumulus! Vir pius hîc jacet!
 Rex vatum sapiens,‡ Pieridum comes,
 Qui cunctis colitur, ipse Dei colens.”

“J.”

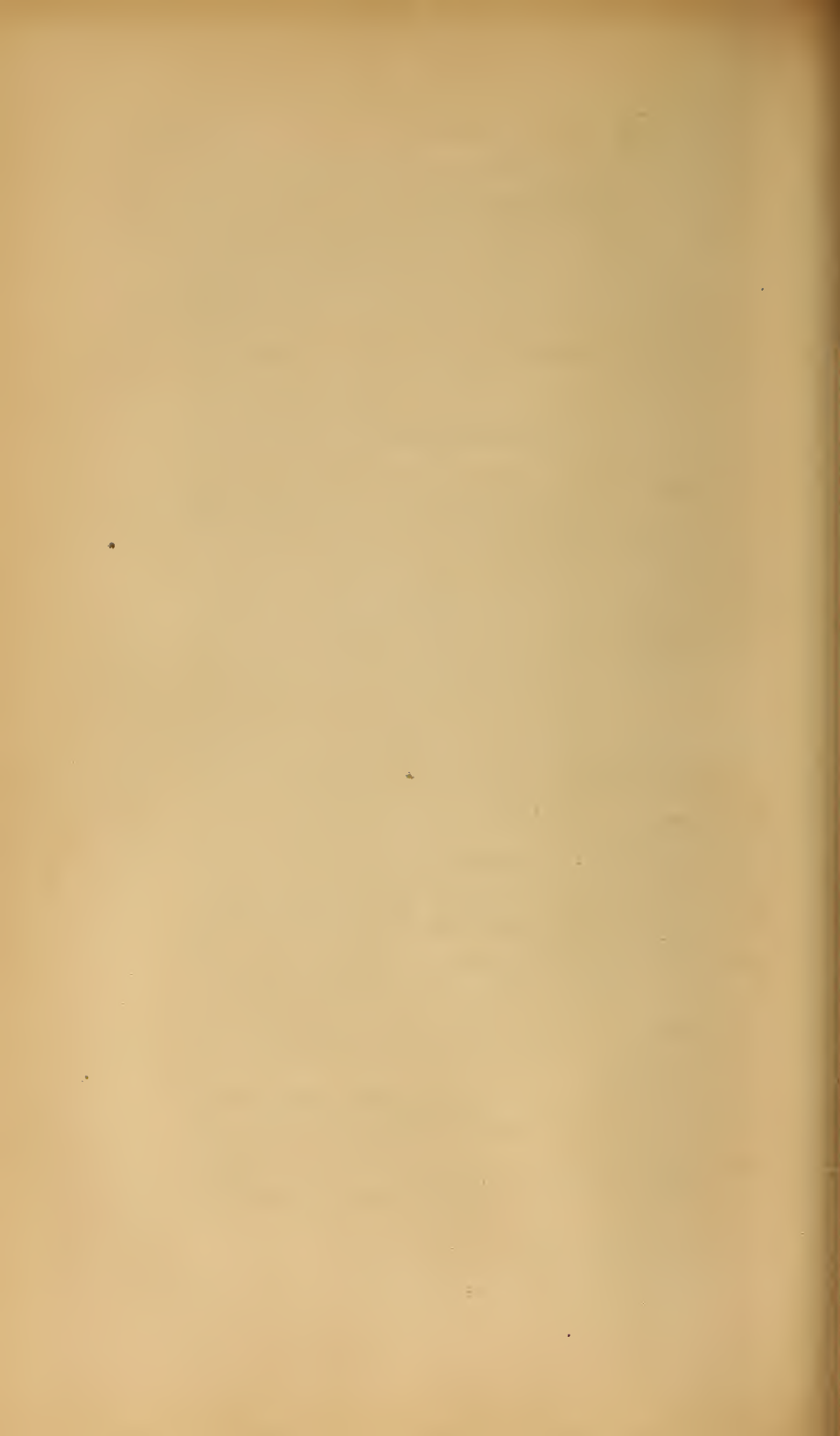
“Hyde Abbey School, Winchester, 1822.”

* Virgin-like. † Tivius.

‡ In allusion to my father's appointment, as one of the judges at the Eisteddfod held at Carmarthen, in 1819.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page iv, l. 9, for " Llandiveilog," read " Pibor, near Carmarthen."
 14, for " Morgan Morgans," read " Morgan Jenkins."
 lviii, 30, for " Rhegett," read " Byged."
 cxix, 7, for " Mr. ——" read " ——"."
 cxxvi, 11, for " Warren," read " Ware."
 119, 11, for " *Pwysan*," read " *Pwysau*."
 126, 2, for " *Sed jam*," read " *Sed me jam*."
 144, 8, for " *gorau 'd*," read " *goreu o*."
 163, 7, for " *Ddigwyddoda*," read " *Ddigwyddodd*."
 9, for " *iu*," read " *cei*."
 191, 22, for " Balan," read " Balant."
 192, 3, for " Balac," read " Balc."
 199, 28, for " *Ysgythau*," read " *Ysgythan*."
 29, for " *Ysgythau*," read " *Ysgythan*."
 for " *hadanedd*," read " *hadenydd*."
 226, 30, for " *Gortheryn*," read " *Gwrtheyrn*."
 227, 22, for " *Dwrodigwys*," read " *Dwrodrigwys*."
 229, 21, for " *Cernywir*," read " *Cernywyr*."
 240, 27, for " *Brigantwison*," read " *Brigantweision*."
 249, 32, for " *Cantine*," read " *Cantire*."
 268, 22, for " *Coelbien*," read " *Coelbren*."
 26, for " *dicisive*," read " *decisive*."



THE
ENGLISH WORKS
OF
ELIEZER WILLIAMS, M. A.

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY

ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT CELTIC TRIBES,
PARTICULARLY THEIR MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

THE ancient Druids, whose opinions are so little known, and whose ceremonies and religious rites are at present so imperfectly understood, never displayed their attention to the exigencies of society and to the conveniences of private life, in a more laudable manner, than in the institutions which they introduced respecting the matrimonial union of the sexes. For, though we have not a correct account of the whole of their doctrines and established ceremonies, partial tradition and local customs have preserved a sufficient specimen of them to enable an attentive observer to form a general idea of their ultimate intentions. The customs still prevalent at the celebration of marriage, and the more ancient

observances recorded in old manuscripts, or handed down by tradition, give a favourable view of the policy and address of the original legislators of the Celtic tribes, and afford very flattering proofs of their wisdom, and their knowledge of human nature. In order to render a state powerful, the increase of population is the favourite object of every prudent government. And to encourage wedlock appears to be one of the most feasible methods of increasing the popular stores of a state, and of repairing the losses occasioned by epidemical diseases and by the depredations of war. Accordingly among the Celtic tribes, nothing more was required in the candidates for matrimonial happiness, than such a conduct and such a deportment in their respective stations, as should render them worthy of the patronage and protection of the community to which they belonged. Industrious habits, a sober disposition, and an amiable temper, rendered wealth and domestic felicity attainable by the meanest individual. For no sooner had a youth of good character secured the affections of a female of his own rank and of fair reputation, and no sooner had he expressed a wish to be matrimonially united to her, than some respectable personages, and not unfrequently the principal chieftains in the tribe to which he appertained, espoused his cause, exerted their influence, and had recourse to the most effectual methods of securing a general attendance of their retainers at the celebration of the marriage, and of raising by means of easy contributions such a sum as might prove sufficient to establish the young couple in a situation

likely to render their future life comfortable and above the reach of indigence. To ensure a numerous attendance of the neighbouring tribes, games and athletic sports were instituted, and prizes of considerable value were promised to victors; and to render the contributions made on these occasions as liberal as possible, it was obligatory on the youthful couple or their patrons, to make an adequate return, whenever, on similar occasions, such return should be required. In consequence of these beneficial institutions, the youths of the country were induced frequently to appear in mixed assemblies, and to engage in manly exercises, which softened their manners, and gradually prepared them for the fatigues and hardships of war; while, by these popular customs, they were led easily and imperceptibly to confer on their neighbours and fellow-countrymen such benefits and friendly favours as might, when repaid on similar occasions, contribute to their own comfort. When the nuptial day was fixed, the first care was to commission an eloquent messenger to visit the neighbouring castles, and invite the resident warriors and their attendants to the wedding. And in more peaceful days, the rural villages were traversed, and a general invitation was given to the ruddy and cheerful inhabitants to form a part of the company on the festive occasion. The Bidder,* in former times, was a person of a respectable and popular character, possessed of much eloquence, considerable talents, and an inexhaustible fund of mirth and rus-

* See Cambrian Popular Antiquities, 8vo. p. 159.

tic humour. *Herodrach*, or the art of conducting an embassy, and carrying on important negotiations with propriety, was, among the Gauls, considered as one of the four-and-twenty games, which every young man who aspired to be regarded as an accomplished individual, was obliged to study, and of which it was incumbent on him to render himself complete master. In order to habituate themselves to a lively address, and a *copia verborum*, or a ready flow of easy language, the sons of the chieftains not unfrequently disguised themselves in the habit of the Bidder, and exerted their talents in haranguing the populace, and causing a numerous attendance at their retainer's wedding. And when the young lord succeeded to the estate of his ancestors, the villagers would often dwell with pleasure on the address which he had discovered, and the mirthful eloquence which he had displayed, in the character of matrimonial herald, at the time that he solicited their company at the nuptials of one of his humble dependents. The herald, on these occasions, wore, as ensigns of office, his hat or bonnet ornamented with wedding garlands, and his staff decorated with ribands; and thus distinguished, he might proceed unmolested through hostile tribes, and the camps of contending armies.

“ Suppliant the venerable herald stands,
While Hymen's awful ensigns grace his hands;
By these he begs, and, lowly bending down,
He sues to all,” &c. POPE'S HOMER.

At the castles of the principal chieftains his constant ambition was to arrive *just at dinner time*, when the lord and his retainers were found assembled

in the great hall, in cheerful humour and in high spirits; when rattling his *Baton** against the floor to procure attention, and dropping a graceful bow, he began his harangue, "*Cennad gwahoddwr, a gwa-hoddwr hefyd, at wr y Ty, a gwraig y Ty, a phawb ór Tylwyth,*" &c. There was generally a prescribed form adapted to these purposes, but the orator indulged in occasional deviations from the beaten track, displaying his talents in mirthful sallies, and humorous parodies on celebrated passages from favourite authors. If the parties were of the lower order in society, he gave their pedigree with affected gravity, drew up a mock history of their exploits, and of their brave and generous actions; expatiated on their personal excellencies, and on the good qualities of their ancestors, descanted on the joys of matrimony, and the miseries of celibacy; and when he imagined he had succeeded in putting his audience into good humour, he returned with great address to his subject, applied himself successively to the principal persons present, and endeavoured to extract a promise from them, which, when obtained, was regularly entered in his tablets. His reputation as an orator, and his reward as a *Bidder*, depended on the success of his eloquence, and on the number of promises which he obtained. When his oration was closed, the *Hirlas*, or silver-tipped Horn, was put into his hands foaming

* *Ei Bastwn*, his Baton. The French and the Cambrians, in this and many other expressions, use exactly the same words. All the old words, or the *Gaulois*, the language of the old Gauls retained in the French, are the same with the Welsh.

with ale, or sparkling with mead. He thanked his audience for their friendly attention, drank their healths, and, with a bow, modestly retired. On the morning of the nuptial day the bride and bridegroom, privately attended by their particular friends, repaired to church at an early hour, when the ceremony was performed, and their title to the enjoyment of domestic happiness inserted in the usual records. On their return, the bride and bridegroom separated, and repaired to the mansions of their respective friends. In the great hall they made their appearance, to receive the congratulations of their visitors. Considerable address was requisite, in order to recollect the names, and make proper inquiries after the families of each particular visitor; and when the youth or the inexperience of the bride and bridegroom rendered them unequal to the task, they were assisted by friends of maturer years, who refreshed their memories, and guided their erring judgments. The names of the visitors were entered by a proper person in a book provided for the occasion, that, under similar circumstances, the visit might be returned, and the amount of whatever compliment they left, might be faithfully restored whenever it should appear to be required. The tokens of friendship, or of neighbourly benevolence, which they determined to bestow, were deposited in a large silver dish provided for that purpose. It appears that among the Gaulic and Celtic tribes, previously to the invention of money, and its application to commercial purposes, things were presented in a kind of written promise, which it was deemed in the highest degree dishonourable

not to fulfill. Something not dissimilar to this is mentioned by Tacitus, in his account of the manners and customs of the Germans. Describing the marriages of those people, he observes, "*Intersunt propinqui, ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quæsitæ, nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves, et frenatum equum, et scutum cum frameâ gladioque,*" &c. The parents and relations of the newly-married couple attended to testify their approbation of the gifts that were presented; gifts consisting not of luxurious delicacies, or bridal ornaments, but of oxen, horses trained to war, shields, swords, and ashen spears pointed with polished iron, &c. Their congratulations on the happy marriage being made, and their offerings at the shrine of Hymen being presented, the company successively retired to an adjoining apartment, where, when the parties were opulent, seasonable refreshments were provided, and where the fascinating powers of music were essayed. The harp and the viol have always been deemed favourite instruments in the hands of the Welsh; its melodious sounds, its energetic expression, and its aptitude for accompaniments, rendered the former peculiarly acceptable on these festive occasions. Accompanying the harp or viol with the voice in the choice compositions of the bards—singing pieces of music in four parts, and in full harmony—formed, from the earliest periods, the principal occupation of those, who, from years or feeble habits of body, were incapable of displaying their strength or their agility in manlier exercises. "*Canu cân pedwar accennu,*" or to sing pieces of music of four parts with a pro-

per air and accent, was reckoned among the four-and-twenty games, in which every well educated Gaul was expected to excel. Accompaniments in music were familiar to the ancient inhabitants of these islands, before they were known to the rest of Europe. A manuscript * of Welsh music still extant, and described by Jones, in his "Relics of the Welsh Bards," seems to place this subject in a luminous point of view. But until the *gamut* then in use can be deciphered, the merit of the music cannot be so well ascertained. To repeat the composition of the bards with accurate emphasis and proper gesticulation, called "*datganiad pen pastiau*," was likewise esteemed a branch of bardism, and one of the four-and-twenty games. The performer bore in his hand a cane or *baton*, with which he improved his action during the repetition. Sometimes he rattled it in cadence on the floor, to mark the time and add to the effect of his spirited delivery. By the energy of his manner, he frequently worked himself up into a paroxysm of enthusiastic phrensy, and sometimes succeeded in affecting his audience with similar rapture. These bardic declaimers resembled much, if we may judge from historic description, the *rhapsodoi* so much in vogue among the Greeks: and it was possibly as much by the art of the declaimer, as by the poetic force and fire of the composition, that the extraor-

* The Cambrian youths went generally to the Italian Universities for their education. It is probable that some of them carried copies of this work with them, and that Guido took the hint from it in the composition of his work on Counterpoint, &c. See Jones's Relics of the Welsh Bards, 1st Edition, No. 18.

dinary effects often mentioned were produced ; such as *Rhys Meigen's falling down dead on hearing a philosophic ode repeated which had been written against him by the celebrated Dafydd ab Gwilym. The games were divided into such as tended to the improvement of the mind, and such as were calculated to add to the strength and vigour of the body. Those persons whose naturally feeble constitutions, or whose age prevented them from entering the lists among the more athletic competitors for fame, contented themselves with exerting their talents to obtain applause, and procure favour in assemblies of a less martial disposition. The domestic and literary games, or those generally in request in mixed assemblies, were,

1. *Barddoniaeth*, or bardism ;
 2. *Canu Telyn*, or playing the harp ;
 3. *Darllain Cymraeg*, or reading Welsh ;
 4. *Canu cywydd gandant*, or singing a poem with the harp, or viol ;
 5. *Canu cywydd pedwar ai accennu*, or singing an ode of four parts, and accenting it with proper expression ;
 6. *Tynnu arfau*, or heraldry ;
 7. *Herodraeth*, or embassy ;
- To which may be added the four inferior games :
8. *Chwarau gwydd bwyll*, or playing chess ;
 9. *Chwarau tawlbwrdd*, or playing backgammon, or some such game ;
 10. *Chwarau ffristial*, or playing dice, or cards ;

* See the Cambrian Biography, p. 306.

11. *Cyweirio telyn*, or tuning the harp.

Such were the games that were most in esteem in private assemblies and places of social intercourse. They are undoubtedly of great antiquity ; the nature of some of them is at present but very imperfectly understood, others are still preserved, and still practised ; and it is the general belief of those who are most conversant with the subject, that an attentive perusal of such fragments as are still extant, of ancient British history, and an examination of such passages in the works of the bards as casually mention them, would tend to remove many of the difficulties, and clear up much of the obscurity in which their history is at present unfortunately involved. The domestic games were in great repute, and to be ignorant of them was esteemed dishonourable ; but in active youth, when health, a favourable season, and a convenient opportunity, invited to manlier exercises, to consume time in such as are adapted to the capacity of those of a more debilitated age, was to be lost in sloth, and to renounce all claims to the character of a warrior. And when such athletic sports were pursued, to be absent from the spot, where competitors for gymnastic fame displayed their skill, was considered to be as reproachful in men, as being present on such occasions was discreditable in women. For the accommodation of the candidates, a field adjacent to the house where the friends of the bridegroom were assembled, was converted into a species of *Campus Martius*, where those who excelled in manly sports entered the lists, and those who were considered only as *amateurs*, were con-

tented with attending as spectators. The games most esteemed at these matrimonial assemblages were such as tended to improve and display swiftness of foot, dexterity of hand, and vigour and activity of body : those regarded as the most reputable were :—

EXERCISES OF ACTIVITY.

12. *Cryfder dan bwysau*, or the display of strength in hurling a stone, or throwing a bar ;
13. *Rhedeg*, or running ;
14. *Neidio*, or leaping ;
15. *Nofio*, or swimming ;
16. *Ymafael*, or wrestling ;
17. *Marchogaeth*, or riding, which extended likewise to feats in chariots of war, as described by Cæsar. .

EXERCISES OF WEAPONS.

18. *Saethu*, or archery, shooting, and throwing the javelin ;
19. *Chwarau cleddyf a tharian*, or fencing with a sword and buckler ;
20. *Chwarau cleddyf deuddwrn*, or fencing with the two handed sword ;
- 21*. *Chwarau ffon ddwybig*, or playing with the quarter staff ;
22. *Hela â milgi*, or hunting, or more properly perhaps coursing ;
23. *Hela pysg*, or fishing ;

* There were other games ranked among the rural sports, which could not be well celebrated at matrimonial meetings.

24. *Hela aderyn*, or falconry.

An account of these celebrated games may be found in several manuscripts of considerable antiquity; and Dr. Davies has given a list of them in his *Folio Welsh and Latin Dictionary*, printed in London in the year 1632. The surprising similarity subsisting between many of them, and those anciently in estimation among the Greeks, will establish the fact so clearly as not to admit of a doubt, that they were originally borrowed the one from the other, or that they were at some remote period derived from one common source. It is well known that certain tribes of the Gauls in a very remote age settled in Galatia, and gave their name to the province which they selected for their habitation. The Greeks derived their games and several of their ancient customs from the Ionians, and those inhabiting different districts of Asia Minor. It is not improbable, therefore, that they were derived from the Gauls, settled in Galatia, who, by their valour and the success of their arms impressed the neighbouring nations with a high idea of their manners, customs, and institutions. The Romans borrowed their games and gymnastic exercises evidently from the Greeks; and it is remarkable that almost all their games, in which, according to some of our classical authors, the Roman youths delighted to exercise themselves, are the very sports which to this day constitute the principal diversion of the Cambrian champions. "*Luctari, joculari, currere equitare, salire ad quæ exercebat se Romana juvenus in Campo Martio*," are the words of a commentator upon our old friend Horace, in his notes on a passage

descriptive of the Roman contests. The customs still observed in Wales would be a still better commentary upon such passages. The discharge from a muscular arm of the ponderous bar, resembles the hurling of the weightier spear; and the display of corporeal strength, in raising and throwing to a considerable distance, stones of an enormous magnitude, is not unlike the feats which, in ancient days, when the fate of battles was decided by single combat, the greatest heroes were known to excel in, and were occasionally proud to practise,

*“ Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens :
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod fortè jacebat, .
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.
Ille manu raptum trepidâ torquebat in hostem
Altior insurgens, et cursu concitus heros.”*

“Then, as he roll'd his troubled eyes around,
An antique stone he saw, the common bound
Of neighbouring fields; and barrier of the ground,
So vast, that twelve strong men of modern days
The enormous weight from earth could hardly raise,
He heaved it at a lift : and, poised on high,” &c.

Running was likewise a favourite exercise among the Britons. It was patronized by the chieftains, from an idea that it qualified their people for war, as in consequence of their speed, the infantry could mix with the cavalry, and accompany them on forced marches, for several successive days; a species of warfare admirably calculated for light incursions on the territories of the enemy. Cæsar describes certain tribes of the Germanic Gauls, who appointed a foot

soldier to each trooper, and became extremely formidable to their enemies by this extraordinary discipline; as the foot soldiers, by constant exercise, could swim the broadest rivers, keep pace in the longest marches, and stand the shock of the severest charge at the side of the cavalry, with whom they were intermixed, and to whom they were attached.

The foot race is still in estimation, and many are so famed for pedestrian expeditions, that in a journey of three hundred miles, they have surpassed in speed the swiftest horses. Leaping has always been a diversion to which the Cambrian youths were much addicted, and by constant exercise so eminently excelled in, that in agility no nation could surpass them. "*Neidio dwy fid a heol*," to bound from field to field, over a road and two fences, is mentioned as a feat frequently performed. In these contests the competitors invoked the names of their favourite fair ones, and regarded themselves as equal, for their sakes, to the most difficult enterprizes. Einion having invoked the beautiful Angharad, sprang, inspired by the thoughts of her, over the Abernodwydd,* a narrow dingle in North Wales.

*Neidiai a gyrrais heb un gorwedd, danaf,
Wel dyna feistrolrwydd
Naid fawr, lliw gwawr, yn ei gwydd,
Ar naid dros Abernodwydd.*

* This dingle is in width about fifty feet, and is situated a little below Plas Gwyn in Anglesey, the seat of the late Paul Panton, Esq. well known as the Mæcenas of Welsh literature, and of the present Jones Panton, Esq. where to this day three stones, called "*Naid Abernodwydd*," may be observed, fixed on end to mark the distance, and probably the nature of the leap, a hop, step, and

Fairest Angharad, for thy sake
 What feats could not I undertake ?
 To thee what could my course delay,
 What rivers could obstruct my way ?
 Inspired by thee, I fancy still,
 The broadest stream the narrowest rill ;
 And, like a hart, from ground to ground,
 Cross Abernodwydd at a bound. A NON.

Wrestling is still practised, and is in high estimation. The usual mode of displaying their strength or agility adopted by the combatants is that species of luctation which is so prevalent in Cornwall, as well as Wales ; and is generally known in England by the name of the “ Cornish hugg,” and among the Britons was anciently denominated “ *cwddwm cefn*.” The antagonist passed his right arm under his adversary’s left, grasped him round the waist, fixed the knuckles of his fingers against his opponent’s chine, and giving a sudden wrench to the right, and at the same instant dexterously striking him under the left ham, with the right knee, seldom failed to bring him to the ground. By art and experience a person of inferior size frequently succeeded against a gigantic adversary, a Ulysses against an Ajax. The other species of wrestling, which was less frequently practised, was called “ *cwddwm braich*,” in which the

jump. Einion, who performed this feat, was of the Treveilir family in the same county, and he has recorded the exploit in a short poem, in which he acknowledges having received the lady as the prize of his agility. His father and grandfather, Gwalchmai and Meilir, were also of that family, and were celebrated bards, several of their compositions are still extant. See Cambr. Reg. I. Vol. p. 442.—*Editor*.

wrestlers seized each other by the arms, and when, in the course of the struggle, an adversary raised one of his feet, a timely and dexterous application of the right foot to the other generally succeeded in supplanting and subverting him. To prevent brutal strength from wearing out less athletic ingenuity, the contest was confined to three struggles; and to give two falls was to secure the victory. Shooting comprized the art of aiming at a mark or target with a bow and arrow, as well as that of emulously contending for the honour of throwing to the greater distance a javelin or pointed dart. It was customary in former ages to propose valuable prizes for the encouragement of those who should prove expert in archery; and at the present period, when the use of the musket has been substituted for that of the bow, a sheep, a flitch of bacon, or some prize of a similar nature, is often proffered as the reward of the best marksman; the value of which, when not obtained from the liberality of the bridegroom, or the generosity of his friends, is raised by the competitors or the spectators by a subscription among themselves. Throwing or darting the javelin was a favourite ancient exercise, considered as a useful preparatory discipline for those who would aspire to military renown, as well as a necessary accomplishment for those whose delight was the chase or the sports of the field. The spectators present at this exercise regularly ranged themselves in two rows; the competitors stood at one extremity of these rows, and the object aimed at, or the mark to distinguish the place where the javelin fell, was fixed at the other, so

that the lines were marked out for the champions, within which their darts were to be directed, as well as the object beyond which it was not expected they should be thrown; circumstances that may serve as comments upon the practice of the Greeks, so puzzling to many writers on Grecian antiquities. For whichever nation be deemed the most ancient, the similarity of the prizes, and the identity of the games cannot be controverted. The British chieftain, no less than the Grecian, instituted sports and proposed rewards to the victor;

“For these he bids the heroes prove their art,
Whose dext’rous skill directs their flying dart.”

In modern days, the javelin, which is no longer in use, has been succeeded by the oaken staff. It is furnished with a club in the form of a cone, the base forming one extremity of the staff. When properly poised, and dexterously hurled, this ponderous club keeps it steady in its course, and gives it the appearance, as it flies, of a broad headed arrow. Some muscular young men from habit have been known to hurl it to an incredible distance, and to hit an object with great precision, at the extremity of a line of sixty or seventy yards in extent. Those who excel in this exercise have often distinguished themselves in the management of the three-pronged spear, and have pierced a salmon at a vast distance in the Tave,* or an otter swimming in the Teifi,* when likely to ef-

* Rivers in Carmarthenshire and in Cardiganshire. The otter being an amphibious animal, “*Hela Dwrgi*,” or hunting the

fect his escape from the dogs. Fencing was always considered to be an accomplishment indispensably necessary in a warlike nation. The use of the small sword was studied, and regarded as an object no less deserving of attention than that of the broad sword. But no weapons were in greater request among the Celtic tribes, than the sword and buckler, as they loved to wage no distant war, but to close and contend hand to hand with their enemies. Prior to the operation of the statute for disarming the inhabitants of the Principality of Wales, a Cambro-Briton seldom left his habitation without his sword and buckler, and a martial disposition, together with frequent encounters, rendered him ever ready and expert in the use of them. The *Claymore* of the highlands was no other than the *Cledd mawr* or *Cle'mawr* of the Welsh, the Erse,* or Gaelic, being only a corrupt pronunciation of the language of the Principality of Wales. For the Highlanders having no books, or manuscripts, their dialect on the Celtic floated long on the varying surges of colloquial barbarism, without the compass of grammar or the helm of ortho-

otter, was ranked under fishing, and considered as one of the four-and-twenty games, as was hunting the beaver, or "*Hela'r Afangc*," an animal formerly found in the lakes at the source of the Teifi, and said to be very numerous in Giraldus's time, about the year 1188.

* Giraldus Cambrensis, and other authors, represent the dress of the Welsh as much resembling that of the Highlanders in the middle ages. They wore long trowsers, as in the Eastern Highlands, a short jacket, and a mantle similar to the Scots plaid. A kind of striped half-cloth, which resembles the plaid, is still used in Glamorganshire, and many parts of Wales.

graphy to direct it, which became of course less certain in its tendency than those dialects that were always conducted by regular written rules. Since the Welsh have been prevented from carrying the sword and the buckler, the quiver and the bow, the oaken cudgel has appeared as the unhappy, because not the less destructive, substitute for the broad sword, and the youths of the lower ranks of life are, even in these days of civilization and Christian light, when occasion requires, as liberal in its use, as they are dexterous in its management. They defend themselves with great address, receive every blow on their weapon or on their left arm, and return the blow before their adversary can recover himself and be upon his guard.* The two-handed sword is at present scarcely known, but it was a favourite warlike weapon in the middle centuries. In the expedition of Lewis IX. to Egypt, during the crusades, A.D.

* The generality of the lower ranks, even in these days, consider oaken cudgels as essential companions, and seldom repair to any places of amusement, such as fairs and weddings, &c. without them. Parishes would sometimes meet to try their strength, and where a private quarrel existed between two individuals of different districts, it would be sometimes adjusted by a general combat. Some of our readers may perhaps recollect dreadful scenes of this kind occurring at the fairs of Tregaron and Lampeter, where they might have observed some of the combatants conveyed to the surgeries in a condition truly horrid. They may also bring to their recollection that celebrated warrior yclept "Jacky'r Post," one of a family noted for this species of warfare, who, being an object of hatred to his enemies, and a marked man, seldom ventured abroad without his "*Efon Dderwen*," which, like himself, was rather below the common size, although formed of amazing tough materials, he kept deposited

1249, John de Vassey, a French priest, armed with a scymetar of this kind, attacked a redoubt manned by eight Turks: "when near enough, he ran upon them, and with his two handed strokes put all the eight to flight, which valorous action rendered him famous throughout the army."* As much strength was requisite in the management of it, the ancient Britons prided themselves not a little in the exercise of it, and it was often seen in their ranks. It did not admit of the defensive aid of the buckler, consequently a considerable share of dexterity was required to parry the adversary's blows. The battle-axe, however, appears to have been a more favourite instrument. *Hywel y Fwyall*,† or Howell with the battle-axe is described by the Welsh bards, as having commanded a body of his countrymen as a *corps de reserve*, at the battle of Cressy, and by his seasonable advance, and thundering incursion on the French lines, to have materially contributed to the accele-

in a left side pocket preparatory to any sudden assault. We have been eye-witnesses, in our schoolboy days, of an attack made upon him in a fray by three or four stout fellows, who seemed determined to improve their advantage of numbers by the violence and agility with which they assailed the helpless and unhappy wight, but, like a prudent warrior, he reserved his strength, parrying their blows as well as he was able, until he gained what he called his vantage ground, when, making good his retreat to a neighbouring wall, he, like our old friend "Dandie Dinmont," applied his strokes so thick and with such deadly precision, as to display their huge uncouth carcasses writhing on the ground together, the bleeding trophies of his superior prowess. *Editor.*

* M. Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. i. p. 360.

† A piece of music called "*Gwigill y Fwyall*" is still played on the harp in South Wales.

ration of the victory. The use of the "*ffon ddwybig*," is not perfectly ascertained ; it has been translated a *quarter-staff*, the management of which is too well known to need description. The justice of this translation may, however, be doubted, and, from the import of the original word, it might be questioned, whether it was not a short pike in ancient use, armed with a sharp blade at each extremity. The "*hén gampwyr*," or old champions, generally acted as umpires at these games, preserved order, prevented disputes, and acted as the Ἀγωνάρχαι or Παβδονόμοι of the Greeks. They seldom, when their fame was once established, entered the lists again, as they had little to gain, but might eventually lose every thing, by trusting their reputation unnecessarily to the cast of the die of Fortune. When to direct others it became necessary to handle their arms, they did it with very considerable dexterity, but without much apparent exertion, that they might seem not to *put out half their strength*, and have credit for a greater share of ability had they chosen to exert themselves. A twofold advantage was sometimes reaped by thus concealing the real extent of their natural prowess, and shading the lustre of their hard-earned fame. It is related, that a young gentleman of considerable property, who had betrayed great partiality for these games, had been so flattered for the proficiency he had made, that he imagined himself invincible, and conceived it impossible that any blow should be aimed at him with success. To establish his reputation on a still firmer basis, he challenged one of these veterans to contend with him in the manage-

ment of the quarter-staff, and offered him a lease of one of his farms then vacant, if he could aim a blow at him which he could not parry. The wary old champion for some time declined the contest, alleging it to be an impossibility to attack so expert a gladiator. But being importunately pressed, he, with some apparent reluctance, at length accepted the challenge, and soon obliged his youthful opponent to acknowledge him victor. “*A gaf fi’r lle, Meistr?*” “And shall I have the farm, sir?” said the veteran, “*Cei, cei, dal dy law’r diawl; di gei’r tyddyn:*” “Yes, yes, hold thy hand, devil,” said the other, “thou shalt have it in perpetuity.” To constitute a complete champion, it was necessary to obtain the prize, at each of the four-and-twenty games; but to have contended successfully at some of them against men of acknowledged talent, was sufficient to acquire a name, and establish some degree of reputation. By constant habit and frequent observation, experienced champions were able to give hints that would often conduce to the victory of either combatant; and the party they seemed to support, if not ultimately successful, obtained the good opinion, and became, for some time at least, the favourites of the spectators. To obtain the regard and patronage of men of so much influence, was therefore an object of no ordinary consideration, with every candidate for fame at these exercises. A reproof from an old champion had an instantaneous effect, and a cry from him of *Moesau, Moesau* (*les Mœurs, les Mœurs*), calmed every rising tumult, and extinguished every nascent spark of animosity. Or, if any dispute could not be

immediately adjusted, every appearance of anger was for the present suspended, and the decision of the subsisting difference deferred till the meeting of the parties at some more convenient place. Hence wedding feasts, which, from the nature of the games celebrated at them, might have been expected to resemble the nuptials of the Lapithæ, were conducted with every appearance of regularity and propriety ; and if in modern times some corruptions have insinuated themselves, and some irregularities have prevailed, it is that the old champions have become less numerous or less popular, have lost their authority or neglected to exert it. It would be difficult perhaps at present to decide whether anciently among the Celtic tribes, there were any stated periods at which these games were celebrated, like the Olympic and Numean. But when reciprocal entertainments were established among the Welsh princes, these sports were always proposed for the amusement of the guests. In the year 1113, Gruffydd ab Rhys, a Prince of South Wales, and ancestor of the present Lord Dinefawr, gave at his seat near Llandilo, a public feast which continued for forty days, where all manly games were encouraged, and honourable gifts bestowed on all who were found deserving.* At every numerous concourse of people, the lively and active part of the community generally amused themselves in these exercises. At marriages particularly, a spirited but amicable contest at the most

* Cambrian Biography, p. 149.

popular games seldom failed to engage the attention of the young and enterprising, the athletic and the brave; the fields adjoining the house also where a wedding was celebrated, were covered with crowds of combatants and spectators, umpires and competitors; and resounded with the vociferations of animation, the shouts of approbation, and the thunder of applause. When the contributions were completed, the usual ceremonies observed, and the company ready to attend the bridegroom on his expedition to meet the bride, the signal to mount their steeds and to prepare for their departure, was given by the piper, who played on the occasion an appropriate and characteristic air on his pipes. In ancient days the piper was a man of genius, and a person of some consideration in his way. Colleges were established for the instruction of the youths who preferred this profession, frequent competitions encouraged, rewards bestowed, and degrees conferred, on the most deserving; and no man was permitted to perform in public, who had not been regularly educated, and duly examined. Every chieftain had his family piper, and considerable emulation subsisted between the rival musicians of neighbouring lords. Several beautiful pieces of music were composed on this instrument by the professors of ancient days. The soft air called* "*Erddigan y Pibydd Coch*," or the Red Piper's song, and some others are still extant and are deservedly admired. In the hands of skilful

* Jones's Relics of the Bards, p. 61.

artists the instrument* seems to have attained to a pitch of excellence that would now be hardly credited; a pastoral writer, describing the effects of this rural music in his time, thus addresses a piper:

*Os chwiban dy bib-goed, felus-geodd dan las-goed,
O'r coed ni fyn dwy-droed fyn'd adre'.*

Richards' Welsh Pastorals.

When at a distance in the shade
Some soft air on thy pipe is play'd,
Charm'd at the fascinating sound,
My feet seem rooted to the ground;
No more I think of home, but still
Linger to catch some warbling rill.

The piper's horse is generally as regularly trained to the business as his rider; for, no sooner is he mounted, than he sets off on full career for the place of rendezvous appointed by the bride and bridegroom; and as if privy to the arrangement, and determined to be true to the appointment, he never flags in his pace, and seldom deviates from the proper track. As for his master, his whole attention is directed to the management of his musical machine; he therefore rides in the Numidian style, "*laxis habenis*," with loose reins, or rather without any reins at all, trusting more to the sagacity of his horse than to his own horsemanship. The animal, as if complete master of his business, and proud of his harmonious burden, flounders away with great spirit, "through

* The bagpipes used in Wales, in general, are the large Highland bagpipes, but in Pembrokeshire and some of the adjoining counties, the Irish pipes are in most repute, as they are in other places, for a private room, or for a dance.

dense and rare," and all the miry vicissitudes of the road. The melody of the pipes seems to have on the company, in some measure, the same effect that the verberations of the pan have in summer on the bees; for they swarm round the musician, and wing their way with him with astonishing alacrity; while he, as if delighted with the attention paid him, sits in great state, and beats time with his ponderous heels against the flanks of his horse. Either from the singularity of his appearance, or from the charms of his music, he seldom fails, in a short period, to become the centre of attraction, and the whole company soon seem to conglomerate around him with increasing adhesive force, till, at last, the whole moving body appears like a huge nucleus, of which the piper is the centre, and continues rolling along with prodigious velocity over hills and dales, without any regard to the nature of the ground, or the state of the road. The piper forms the centre of the system, while the other bodies, as if attracted and exhilarated by him, move round him, and attend him in his course. Some, like comets, fly off a considerable distance in another direction, when the ground affords them room to expatiate, either singly to draw attention, or in small parties to contend in swiftness, and shew the speed of their horses; but all soon return, and discover that they form a part of the same system, and revolve round the same centre. The distance is often not less than ten or twelve miles, to the place appointed to meet the bride and her party, and as the horses are, with a few exceptions, of the pony-race, and the roads, in no very favourable state, it is a

matter of astonishment that they should be able to move with so much persevering celerity, and reach the place of their destination within so short a period, as they are frequently known to do. It is natural to conclude, that in former days, from the nature of the institution, and the attention paid to equestrian exercises, as a necessary qualification for field-sports and warlike expeditions, their breed* of horses was of a superior quality, and that these matrimonial excursions were more regularly conducted; but at present, they are productive of more entertainment than utility, and attended with more danger than honour. But the riders discover great boldness, if not much skill, and the horses more strength and perseverance than many of a larger size, and greater beauty, as they frequently carry two persons, and move with surprising velocity, and considerable safety, over rough declivities, where more shewy studs would stumble at every step. At the first appearance of preparations to take horse, and hastening to form a junction with the party of the bride, the young men of an enterprising spirit, and of an active disposition, mounted their lively steeds, and proceeded with the greatest alacrity, on an expedition attended with as many difficulties, and frequently as many perils, as the Colchian expedition and the Rape of the Golden Fleece. Their object was to surprise the bridal attendants, bear away the bride in triumph from her protectors, and conduct her in safety to the bride-

* See an account of Sir Rhys ap Thomas's fine chargers in the 1st vol. of the Cambrian Register, p. 122, &c.

groom. The spirited cohort engaged in this enterprise were distinguished by the appellation of "*gwyr o wisgi oed*,"* or the men of the age of vivacity, and certainly few expeditions required more vivacity, or more boldness and agility. The attendants of the bride were in constant expectation of their approach, and the most active of them made every preparation to frustrate their designs, and disappoint their hopes. Every difficulty was early opposed to them, and every method not deemed dishonourable taken to obstruct them in their rout and impede them in their career. Straw ropes were fastened across the road, five-barred gates placed at intervals in the way, and where a passage was practicable through a river, the road was completely blocked up, that the youthful adventurers might at once discover their dexterity and excellence in horsemanship and swimming, the two most enterprising of the four-and-twenty games. The most formidable of the difficulties, however, invented to im-

* They have of late years been erroneously called "*gwyr y seek out*," as if it were probable, that one half of their appellation should be in one language, and the other in another. They had no occasion to *seek out* the bride, they knew perfectly where she resided, and to *seek out* any thing else would hardly merit the bridegroom's thanks. The term *seek out* is but a modern appellation, and may be easily accounted for. It was the custom for the friends and retainers of the bride to conceal her in some unknown place so as to puzzle the bridegroom's adherents when they approached to search for her, but in consequence of a tragical event which once on a time followed this practice, it has of late years been abolished. The story runs that, from a wish to afford the parties more than usual merriment by increasing the difficulty of the search, it was agreed to conceal the bride in an oak chest that stood in the room. So successful was the joke that the privacy of the lurking-

pede the progress of the adventurers in their rout was the "*Gwyntyn*,"* which anciently consisted of an upright post, on the top of which a cross bar turned on a pivot; at one end of the cross bar hung a heavy sand bag, and at the other was placed a broad plank; the accomplished cavalier in his passage couched his lance, and with the point made a thrust at the broad plank, and continued his rout with his usual rapidity, and only felt the *gwyntyn*, or the *air* of the sand bag, fanning his hair as he passed. Hence this dangerous machine was denominated the "*gwyntyn*," and in process of time corrupted into the vulgar and well known expression of "*quintin*." The awkward horseman in attempting to pass this terrific barrier, was either unhorsed by the weight of the sand-bag, or by the impulse of the animal against the bar found his steed sprawling under him on the ground. At no great distance from every obstacle designedly thrown in the way, a party was stationed to wait the expected events, and deride the fallen

place baffled all the ingenuity of the bridegroom's friends. The search was abandoned, and they were preparing for their departure, when the young bride's friends having repaired to the place of concealment, melancholy to relate, they discovered the unhappy victim of their incautious frolic lifeless! It was supposed that the chest in the hurry of the moment had been unintentionally fastened, and that from the tumult which prevailed her appeals for assistance had been unheard. This tale in its leading features is somewhat similar to an Italian story related in that beautiful poem "*Italy*" by Rogers, but whether or not founded on the same tradition I leave it to others better versed in Cambrian lore to decide. *She scouts* is another etymon given.

Editor.

* See Cambrian Popular Antiquities, p. 163.

riders, as well as those who unnecessarily attempted feats that required more consummate skill, and a greater share of agility than they could justly boast of. All who proved unsuccessful were considered as fair objects of ridicule, because no person was compelled to engage in these arduous enterprises, and no motive but unjustifiable vanity could induce men who knew themselves to be unequal to the task, to place themselves on the list of accomplished champions, who had valour to undertake and abilities to execute the most arduous difficulties and the most hazardous enterprizes.

*“Ludere qui nescit campestribus abstinet armis,
Indoctus pilæ, discive, trochive quiescit,
Ne spissæ risum tollunt impune coronæ.”*

——“One that cannot dance, or fence, or run,
Despairing of success, forbears to try.”

Those who thus insulted fallen and unsuccessful adventurers, were expected, if called upon, to perform themselves the feats which they derided others for attempting in vain ; and it was reckoned base and dishonourable to oppose to others difficulties which they could not themselves surmount. The “*gwyntyn*” was guarded by the most accomplished champions of the party, for they were obliged, if called upon, to pass it themselves at full career, and if challenged by one of the adventurers, they were required to contend with them at one of the four-and-twenty games, and if vanquished became themselves the objects of railery and popular invective. Hence “*cadw gwyntyn*,” or to guard a quintin, was esteemed a most formidable enterprise. It sometimes happened that the

youthful adventurers overcame all these obstacles, or made their appearance before they were interposed in their way, when having arrived near the habitation of the bride, they galloped impetuously to the door, dismounted and endeavoured to bear off the bride, ere their opponents could be aware of their arrival, or prepared to resist them. But, if not surprised by their sudden irruption, the attendants of the bride shut the door against them. They could then entertain no hopes of admission but by the efforts of an extemporary song, which was instantly retorted by their opponents from within. To play a prelude on the harp and compose readily a poetical *impromptu* was considered by every champion in those chivalrous times as a necessary qualification. They were therefore particularly expert at these rythmical encounters, which were likely to continue for some time, if a lucky epigrammatic turn, or some sarcastic stanza did not happen to surprise and disconcert their opponents, thereby rendering them incapable of returning an immediate answer, when by the laws of the game the doors were to be thrown open and the victorious assailants instantly admitted. To effect this, much raillery and much personal invective were often used; which compliments were not less liberally returned by the adverse party; and when the voice of any of those within was recognised, he was instantly accosted with some humourous satire, which might tend to raise a laugh and put a stop to the poetical effusions of his party. It is related that on one of these occasions the voice of a person shrewdly suspected of sheep-stealing was recognised among the

bridal attendants, when one of the assailants recited or sung the following epigram :

*Gwrando lleidr hoyw'r ddafad,
Ai ti sydd yma heddyw'n geidwad?
Ai dynâr rheswm am gau'r drysau,
Rhag dwyn y wreigen liw dydd goleu.*

Purloiner of our fleecy care,
Art thou the guardian of the fair?
Hence doors are closed in open day,
Or thou'dst purloin the bride away.

The Fescennine liberty the Roman populace availed themselves of, to rally each other in alternate verses, was never carried to a higher pitch of mirthful severity, than these extemporaneous lampoons among the Cambro-Britons :

*“ Fescennina per hunc invecta licentia morem,
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.”*

Thus rose the Fescennine licentious sport,
Where rustic bards their rustic muses court;
Where untaught swains retort on untaught swains,
Alternate satire in alternate strains.

However, as no individual was named, no offence could be given, and every sarcasm was considered as the ebullition of wit, rather than as the scintillation of incipient ire. On the entrance of the successful competitors, they endeavoured to engage the attention of the company by friendly inquiries after their health, remarks on the adventures of the day, or attempts at the introduction of a more interesting subject of conversation; while a few of the most eloquent and insinuating of the party addressed themselves to the bride, and made every essay to

prevail upon her to accompany them, alleging the impatience of the bridegroom, complaining of the cruelty of keeping him in suspense, and of the incapacity of her own attendants to do her the honours which so much worth deserved, and declaring their resolution to suffer every thing for her sake, as well as for her protection ! During the delivery of their message, in this or similar language, some of the party, representing themselves as the faithful and confidential servants of the bridegroom, gently led the bride and her bride-maid to the door,

“With sweet, reluctant, amorous delay,”

where some of their friends having provided a carriage or white palfreys ready caparisoned, they were mounted and hurried out of sight with all imaginable expedition, lest the bridal party should recover from their surprise, attempt to pursue them, and participate in the honour of introducing their fair charge to the anxious bridegroom. The remainder of the juvenile adventurers having their steeds ready, and in custody of their friends, instantly vaulted into their saddles, and were in full career to follow their leaders. The fleetest attended the bride, while the most powerful, and the most expert in martial exercises brought up the rear. No moment was lost in unnecessary delay, and no precaution neglected that could be thought likely to ensure their safety, and contribute to their success; for as soon as the bride's adherents could collect their friends, and put themselves in array, they seldom failed to pursue in full force, and attempt to recover their lost honour,

by rescuing their queen from the hands of her new protectors. Every stratagem was therefore essayed to impede their progress, and every justifiable method adopted to disconcert their plans, and frustrate their designs. It sometimes happened that by superior knowledge of the country, and by pursuing a different route, they were able to seize an important pass and block up the way; or when confident in their dexterity, and superiority in point of numbers, they frequently ventured on fair ground to dispute, with the juvenile cavalcade, the honour of the day, and to compel them, after the most valorous achievements, to relinquish their hopes, and resign their charge. In the days of chivalry when the combatants were clad in armour, many a spear was broken, and many a gallant feat performed, as at a regular tournament. Their principal attention however was generally directed to attempts at unhorsing their adversaries, or disarming them, and rendering them incapable of resistance. Good horsemanship, and a considerable share of strength, sometimes enabled them, while riding at full speed to throw their right arm round the waist of an opponent, bear him off his steed, and let him down gently without injury or accident. For no violence was allowable: and to prevent any mischief from the natural ardour and impetuosity of youth, a select number of venerable old champions took care to be of the party to preserve order, and guard against unpleasant accidents. But in spite of every precaution, it unavoidably happened that a few strokes with the cudgel sometimes passed, or that between disarmed champions,

a few blows with the fist* were interchanged, and on some occasions cool proposals to "*newid ergyd*," or exchange a blow, were made and accepted; and in such cases, while every thing was fairly conducted, no offence was given, and no malice retained, as it was considered as an emulous display of dexterity rather than as the inflammatory effects of resentment. The design on one side was by mock rencounters and counterfeit engagements, to gain time till the bride should be carried in safety to the place of her destination: and on the other, to rescue her at all hazards, and to wipe off the imaginary stain, which, through their remissness, had been thrown upon their honour, and sullied their fame as nuptial body-guards. As it was a species of martial sport in which both parties had voluntarily engaged, to lose their temper, and take offence at any occurrence, which it was natural to expect, was deemed a mark of an illiberal and unmanly disposition. When necessary, however, the old experienced champions interfered, and endeavoured by good humoured raillery to convert every rising dispute into a jest, or when necessary, to interpose their authority, and try their predominating influence to restore peace and tranquillity. From the habits of the parties, and the precautions taken by the most experienced, serious quarrels seldom occurred, and dangerous accidents

* *Paffio*, or boxing, as a branch of *ymafael*, or wrestling, was not unknown among the games of the ancient Britons, but all disputes were formerly settled with the sword, and in modern times by its representative the cudgel.

rarely happened. When the adventurous cohort arrived at the place appointed by the bridegroom for their rendezvous, they were welcomed by their friends with joyful acclamations, their valour eulogized, and their achievements celebrated in songs and encomiastic poems. If the bride appeared under their protection their triumph was complete, and the successes of the day considered equal to the most sanguine expectations. The meeting of the happy pair was attended with more than usual exultation, and no ordinary degree of mirth and jovial festivity. When the baffled party of the bride at length arrived, they were received with every mark of friendship, but not without some jocular observations on their vigilance, their fidelity, and their attention to the fair sex, and their skill and address in protecting them; while they in reply acknowledged they had for once suffered themselves to be surprised, but promised, on the next occasion that should present itself, to demonstrate that the success of the day was more attributable to good fortune than to good generalship. Both parties now united, and the active youths on both sides, by severe contests at athletic exercises, exerted themselves to discover how far the preceding events could be considered as proofs of the justice of fortune's decrees, and how far the vanquished in excellence at gymnastic sports were inferior to the victors. When these important points were settled, and when the approach of evening invited the martial youths to fairer society, and forbad the continuance of rougher pastimes, those who did not immediately return to their respective homes, joined the female

part of the matrimonial assembly, who often proved, by their partiality to the young gallants who had excelled in the field, that they were not insensible to chivalrous merit. The remainder of the evening was dedicated to social amusements, or the pleasures of the sprightly dance. The Gauls, the Cimbri, the ancient Britons, and the other Celtic tribes, were not, like the Germans, addicted to gluttony and inebriety; their love of poetry and music, and their susceptibility of the finer passions, rendered their assemblies gay, cheerful, and harmonious. They are described as sitting at table in a chequered form, the sexes being placed alternately.* The harp was frequently introduced; on which every well-educated young man would play† *a prelude*. It was likewise customary to compose a *pennill* or extemporary stanza, on any subject, when it could be thought likely to contribute to the amusement of the company. When the harp was handed round, every man played an air in his turn, and accompanied it with a *pennill*, in which he was joined by the female that sat next to him.

* This custom will remind our classical readers of the Persian fashion, which induced Darius's Ambassadors, once on a time, to request the Macedonian king's permission to have the privilege of the society of his ladies. "When we make a great feast in Persia," says one of them, "our manner is to bring in our concubines and young women to sit beside us." *Herod. lib. v. c. 18*. In these enlightened days even, slaves as we are to fashion and artificial manners, we may often observe the reverse of this interesting sociality, but whether it proceeds from an awkward shyness in the lovelier sex, or from a want of gallantry in the men, or both, it is not my province to determine. *Editor*.

† See Giraldus Cambrensis and Jones's Relics of the Bards.

The air and the appropriate stanza were frequently the ebullitions of the moment. To reject the instrument when thus circulated, and to declare they never had been instructed to perform on it, was considered extremely disgraceful. Some of the veteran champions possessed an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes, composed in very humorous language, by a peculiar knack in the repetition of which they could keep the table in a roar for a whole evening. The "*datgeinwyr*," or the repeaters of the poems of the bards, by a judicious selection of the works of favourite authors, and a happy mode of delivering them, frequently succeeded in impressing on their audience any sentimental affection they pleased. When wearied of their own musical efforts, the professed harper and the scientific singer would attend, to gratify the correcter taste of the company, with musical delicacies of a more exquisite nature. Their dances, being those of war and peace, were characteristic and lively, and were subdivided into those which represented all the incidents of war, as well as all the usual employments of peace. "*Hela'r ysgyfarnog*,"* or hunting the hare, is still preserved; the music may be seen in Jones's Relics of the Bards. An agricultural dance called *y Ffeillionen*, or the Trefoil, is still known. In all the operations of the field, the Britons, to induce them to labour, were fascinated with the charms of music. Every reaper had his

* "*Hela'r ysgyfarnog*, or hunting the hare, is preserved in Jones's Relics of the Bards, p. 69 : and the dance is still known in some parts of Wales, as are several of the other ancient dances.

female partner as in a dance, and they were called to the field by the shrill notes of the "Corn Buclin," or the Bugle Horn; while at work, they were cheered by songs, by the mellow sound of the pipes, or by the martial roll of the *tabwrdd*, or drum, and when their labour was completed, they returned home dancing and singing, preceded by the viol* and the harp. At the conclusion of their day's toil, and previously to their departure homewards, they would amuse themselves with searching among the trefoil for a stalk bearing four leaves, the discovery being attended with an acclamation of joy, as it was humorously considered as a certain indication, that the fortunate person who found it would speedily be married. All this is represented in the dance called "*y Ffeillionen*," or the Trefoil, and is still preserved, in some measure, in the reel among the Highlanders: and characterized by the *Shamrock*† among the Irish. The dance opens with the "*Hay, hau*," or sowing, where each person moves singly, throwing his arms as he moves, in imitation of the sower while in the act of committing the corn to the ground; then a male and female set to each other, emblematical of the pleasing sight of wheat harvest, when every

* The ancient *crwth*, was perhaps the *violin d'amour*, and not the modern violin.

† The Shamrock of the Irish is evidently the *Meillionen* of the Welsh, the same plant is known by different names in several parts of England; it is probable, however, that it may have other names of stronger resemblance. The genuine plant is known by different names in Ireland, as well as in Wales and Scotland.

reaper finds the difficulties of labour mollified by the exhilarating society of his female partner ; the turning and setting to different persons in the dance are representations of the harvest play of searching for the lucky trefoil ; the figure the two males and females form at the close of the dance, represents the fortunate *quatrefoil* ; and the shout the highlanders generally give at this part of it, is descriptive of the acclamation of joy at the fortunate discovery, while industriously engaged in the field, of the symbols of matrimonial happiness. The dances of ancient days, like other old institutions, were more calculated to mix utility with diversion, by teaching the populace to amuse themselves innocently, to lead them to benefit themselves essentially ; by their amusements in peace to qualify them for war, and by their recreations when at leisure, to reconcile them to the thoughts of labour. All that remains of the old ceremonies, the old customs, the old institutions at marriages, and the ancient figures in their dances, seems evidently, as far as may be collected from what is transmitted to us, to have had originally that tendency. It is singular that any well informed traveller should be so blind or ignorant, as to overlook the beneficial intention of the little still left of their ancient customs in the modern Welsh weddings. A sober and religious disposition in some districts, and an inclination to copy every thing English in others, have tended, in a great measure, to obliterate many of the ancient traits of British or Druidical social institutions ; but in some parts of Wales, almost the whole of the ceremonies enume-

rated above are still observed ; in others, they are so often the subject of conversation, or so often partially imitated, that no traveller conversant with the language can be unacquainted with them. It is, therefore, difficult to account for the disgusting picture a late journalist has drawn of the matrimonial feasts of the Cambro-Britons, without supposing that he had never seen the original, or that he copied it from the miserable daubings of some unskilful or malicious Grub-street artist, better acquainted with the licentious scenes in the streets of London, than with the remains of the moral and benevolent institutions still observable in the Principality of Wales. At many of these weddings, the collection made for the bridegroom has amounted to a hundred pounds sterling, and that made for the bride to nearly as much. In former times the contributions were more liberal, and their value, from the scarcity of money at that period, more considerable. If at present these institutions prove less beneficial, it is because they are not countenanced by the great, nor their useful tendency sufficiently understood by the people themselves. These nuptial presents could not injure the donor, because they were subsequently returned to him ; they were no dishonour to the acceptors, because they were considered as matrimonial compliments which were to be returned, when acceptable to others and convenient to themselves. They encouraged a spirit of philanthropy among the people, by accustoming them to benefit each other by actions of kindness and humanity ; while they proved incentives to a virtuous deportment, by stimulating the

youths of both sexes, to such a conduct as might entitle them to the patronage and protection of their opulent friends, and wealthy neighbours. These donations enabled them also to furnish their house and stock their farm, at a period when one agricultural Leviathan did not monopolize and devour the profits of all the farms in the parish, and frighten the remainder of the starving inhabitants into the work-house; but when landlords had the good sense and humanity to divide their estate into farms of a moderate extent, and reasonable rent, every youthful couple could find a habitation, and every habitation its necessary proportion of land. The festivity of a day, therefore, contributed to the happiness of a whole life; while an industrious peasant and a modest economical maiden were, by the trifles which their neighbours deposited, perhaps with no other intention than with a view to their own amusement, placed in possession of a competency, and beyond the reach of want for the remainder of their lives. At an early hour the young couple retired, attended by a few select friends, to the place of their intended habitation, where they were left with the usual compliments and the customary mirthful ceremonies. The company continued frequently to a late hour at the place appointed for the meeting of the parties, where the song and the dance and the general festivities of the evening contributed, on some occasions, to the formation of lasting connexions, which ended in other weddings, and provided for the joyous entertainments of other evenings.

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY

ON THE TASTE, TALENTS, AND LITERARY ACQUISITIONS OF THE
DRUIDS, AND THE ANCIENT CELTIC BARDS.

THE literary acquisitions of the Druids, the Bards, and others professedly devoted to the muses among the Cimbri, the Gauls, and the other Celtic tribes, were more considerable than the narrow-minded jealousy of some modern authors seems willing to admit. The account given of their achievements, and of the eminence at which they arrived in their profession, the vestiges discovered in history of the extraordinary effects of their art, and the fragments that remain of their compositions, may be regarded as evident proofs that they had made no contemptible progress in the cultivation of literature, and that we have only a few mutilated limbs of the colossal literary statue of the earlier ages. An idea may be formed of the gigantic magnitude of the original figure from the grandeur and beauty of the parts that have been fortunately preserved. If the ancient anecdotes of bardism be regarded as fables, they are fables not entirely destitute of foundation, nor totally devoid of connexion with the known history of the cultivators of poetry, among the Cimbric and Celtic tribes. Many of the most celebrated characters recorded by the Greeks and Egyptians, as inventors of some of the liberal arts, and authors of useful institutions, are claimed by the Gauls and ancient Britons, as the

benefactors of their race, as well as the founders of some of their popular tribes. Olen is represented by Pausanias as one of the first prophets of Delphi ; and by one of the Delphic priestesses he is portrayed as the inventor of verse. In the primitive ages, the prophetic and poetic characters were not unfrequently sustained by the same individual. Olen, Olenus, Ailinus, and Linus, are considered but as different appellations of the same person, and in those remote times, the inhabitants of Egypt and Greece attributed to him the same talents, and the same inventions. In the ancient British Triads,* Alon is described as one of the three who first combined into a system the institutes and privileges of the bards, consistently with the account given by Homer of the public honours paid in ancient times to Linus, as represented in the celebrated poetic description of the shield of Achilles :

“ To this a pathway gently winding leads,
Where march a train with baskets on their heads ;
Fair maids and blooming youths that smiling bear
The purple product of th’ autumnal year ;
To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings,
The measur’d dance behind him move the train,
Tune soft the voice, and answer to the strain.”

The Celtic bards were esteemed unrivalled in their poetical compositions, as well as in the art of exciting or allaying the passions. The time they allotted to the study of the human heart, and the address they discovered in raising or calming its

* Cambrian Biography, p. 5, &c.

passions, rendered them expert in the arts of guiding the multitude, and awakening in their breasts what emotions they pleased. It is from his proficiency in these arts that Amphion, who was but a superior kind of bard, was fabled by the Greeks to have excited the trees to follow him, and the stones to obey his voice, and spontaneously to throw themselves into such regular order, as to have served for walls and bulwarks to the city of Thebes. In this fable is represented the address of the bards, and their skill in softening the manners, and influencing, by their music, the hearts of those who were naturally rough and obdurate as rocks, and stubborn and inflexible as oaks, guiding them as they pleased, and impelling them to the institution of society, and the cultivation of useful arts. One of the greatest obstacles to the establishment of social tranquillity is the jarring interest of individuals respecting private property, and the name of Amphion in the Celtic has been derived from a source which implies the composer of differences with respect to private possessions ;* as if the charms of his music, and the

* Amphion has been derived from *am*, about, and *piau* (in construction *phiau*), to possess ; and Orpheus from *Gorphwys*, (in construction *orphwys*, *i orphwys*), to rest, to sooth, or charm to rest. Etymologies are extremely uncertain ; but these derivations wear as much the appearance of probability and consistency, as any attempt that has been made to trace them to a Grecian source. Orpheus is also said to be by some a pure Celtic compound—*Or-Fis*, music—knowledge, deviating, by the slightest breath, from the original. Some derive Apollo from the Welsh *Ap Haul*, the son of the sun ! Others, from the Greek *Απο ήλιω*, from the sun. *Editor.*

magic of his verse, had the effect of calming contentions, and allaying animosities. It has often been asserted, that Thrace, the residence of Orpheus, was anciently inhabited by a Gallic colony, and that Rhesus, a Thracian prince mentioned by Homer, was of Gallic origin. It is certain that the hymns, now extant, and the other compositions ascribed to Orpheus, cannot, from the language, be of so remote an antiquity. They may, however, be more modern translations from ancient Gallic, or Celtic originals. The character given of him, and the qualities assigned him, appear more congenial to the talents and dispositions of a Celtic bard, than of a Grecian poet; while his sylvan retreat on the banks of the Thracian river Hebrus savours not a little of the manners and propensities of a Druid. The earlier part of the Celtic history abounds with fabulous characters, represented as meriting the highest honours for their mental acquisitions, and their useful scientific discoveries; and it does not appear improbable, that the extraordinary achievements assigned in subsequent ages by the Greeks, to their fabulous heroes and demigods, were copied from the fabulous compositions of a more ancient people, who brought with them from the eastward the warmth of an oriental imagination, and the energy of an expressive, and highly figurative language. In some fragments of the writings of the Celts, not only is the proficiency made in the earlier ages, in each particular science, specified, but the persons most celebrated for their profession of them, as well as the most remarkable for their skill, are recorded with apparent correct-

ness and precision ; and, on many occasions, the periods in which they lived, and the stock whence they derived their origin, are particularly stated with every semblance of historical accuracy. Idris Gawr, or Idris the Giant, is named as one of the eminent astronomers of Britain. The exact period in which he flourished cannot now be ascertained, but it is represented as having been considerably prior to the era of history. In their progress from the East, the highest hills appear to have been generally selected by the Celts, as the most eligible spots assigned him for his residence since their arrival in Wales. Cadair Idris, or the seat of Idris, a lofty mountain in Merionethshire, is the fabulous scene of many a romantic tale, of the exploits of the father of astronomical science ; as it is of the professional contests of the bards, who seem for many generations to have considered it as their Parnassus. In the story of Idris it is impossible not to discover the counterpart of the Grecian fable of the gigantic Atlas, stationed on the summit of the most elevated mountain, and bending beneath the weight of the incumbent heavens.* Gwdion, the son of Don, a mythological personage, is likewise celebrated for his knowledge of astronomy, and is described as one of the three sublime astronomers of Britain. The name given him in the British Triads, of the son of Don, or the son of the wave, seems to imply, that he converted his scientific attainments to the useful purposes of navigation. From

* See Cambrian Biography, p. 194.

the earliest periods, *Caer Gwdion*, or the illuminated city of *Gwdion*, has been a favourite epithet among the bards, for the *galaxy*, or milky way. The other personage who distinguished himself by his superior acquirements in astronomical learning, was *Gwyn*, the son of *Nudd*. For the *Triads*, ever observant of the number three, as inviolably sacred, never increase or diminish the number of individuals represented as having acquired celebrity by mental superiority, or personal qualifications. That the application of astronomical acquisitions to the purposes of navigation was not unknown to the Celts, seems corroborated by several extraordinary traditions. *Madog*, the son of a prince of North Wales, is mentioned as having sailed to the westward at a very early period, with ten ships, and a numerous body of men, and is said to have been the first European discoverer of the American continent. At a still earlier period, *Gavran*, a British chieftain, sailed at the head of his faithful tribe, to discover the celebrated islands, distinguished by the appellation of the Green Islands of the ocean, probably the Fortunate Islands of the ancients. The *Triads* mention other expeditions, and describe the naval force of Britain, at a remote age, as formidable and numerous. "*Hu Gadarn*," or *Hu the Mighty*, is represented as having brought the *Cimbri* to Britain, and to *Armorica*, in Gaul, over the "hazy sea," or the German ocean. He is celebrated by the bards, as being the first who taught the art of agriculture, and as having, after his arrival in France, contributed to the civilization of the inhabitants, and

the cultivation of the soil.* Still prior to the age in which Hu the mighty flourished, Nevydd Nav Neivion is said to have constructed a ship of such extraordinary dimensions, that when the eruption of the lake of floods deluged the world, he was enabled to carry in it the male and female of every living creature. The construction of this celebrated vessel is ranked among the three memorable achievements of the Cimbri. The story of Nevydd bears a strong resemblance to the Grecian fable of Deucalion; and perhaps both may be traditionary relations of Noah's Deluge. Nevydd may be only a corruption of the word Noah, in order to render it capable of Cimbric etymology. Nav Neivion means the chieftain of chieftains, a patriarch, the head of many others, the source whence Gomer, the grandson of Noah and the ancestor of the *Gomeri* or Cimbri, derived his origin. A coin has been preserved, said to have been discovered at Magnesia, on which a floating chest is represented containing a male and female. It appears from the inscription† to have been intended to com-

* A curious bas-relief has been discovered in France, representing this hero in the act of cutting down a tree; as a memorial of his having cleared the ground for the purposes of agriculture. A print of this valuable piece of antiquity is exhibited in the memoirs of the French Academy, vol. ii. p. 370.

† See a further account of this very curious coin in *Falconer's Inscriptiones Athleticæ*, printed at Rome, A. D. 1688. The name of the neighbouring city of Apamea appears upon the coin. Both cities were remarkable for the observance of the same ceremonies, and the celebration of the same games, and the latter was situated near that part of Asia, whence some antiquaries contend, that the *Cimbri*, or Cimri derive their origin. See *Dr. Delany's Dissertations*, vol. i. p. 231.

memorate an event not dissimilar to that celebrated in the story of *Nevydd Nav Neivion*; and it is implied that in that neighbourhood public games had been instituted, and continued at stated periods, for many generations, as memorials of so extraordinary an occurrence. The other remarkable achievements classed in the *Triads* with the construction of *Nevydd's* spacious vessel, are *Gwyddon's* Scientific Inscriptions. He is celebrated for his eminence in various branches of literature, is described as the earliest composer of vocal song, and represented as having made such wonderful proficiency in the sciences, that he left, for the benefit of posterity, his scientific discoveries engraved on marble, or inscribed on stones of wonderful magnitude. Whether this alludes to hieroglyphical inscriptions, or to the Runic characters, generally found on rocks and large stones, in many places in the northern parts of Europe, is uncertain. But it unquestionably exhibits a curious trait in antiquity, and whether fabulous, or supported by historical evidence, may be deemed well deserving the investigation of the historian and the antiquary. "And these stones had written on them," say the *Triads*, "every art and science in the world." "So much is true," says Sir William Temple in his *Essays*, "that the Runic pieces were for long periods of time in use, upon materials more lasting than others employed to that purpose; for, instead of leaves or barks, or parchments, these were engraven upon stone, or planks of oaks, upon artificial obelisks or pillars, and even upon natural rocks, in great

numbers and extent of lines."* Llechau, the son of Arthur, is celebrated in the Triads, as one of the three philosophers of Britain, who were masters of all sciences. Rhiwallon, Wallt Banadlen, or with the brown coloured hair, is distinguished as one of three personages most eminent for their knowledge of natural history. Others are, in a similar manner, honourably mentioned as the most celebrated for their proficiency in eloquence, poetry, and history. Some are handed down to posterity, as the most distinguished for their skill in agriculture, and others for their superiority in the practice of physic. Some for their eminence in mechanical knowledge,† and others for the celebrity acquired in mathematical learning. In the Triads, an interesting account is given of the literature of those earlier ages, and if the scientific acquisitions of our ancestors, at that period, be not admitted to have equalled the superior attainments of their descendants in a more enlightened age, it must be acknowledged to be no small honour, to have made some proficiency in the liberal arts at a time when the rest of Europe was sunk in ignorance, or lost in barbarism and ferocity. The most extraor-

* Sir William Temple's Miscellanies, part 2nd, p. 91.

† Merddin, or Merlin, the Bard Ambrosius, is represented as having been eminently versed in mathematical knowledge, and renowned for mechanical inventions; and is said to have constructed for his patron, that stupendous monument of Druidical ingenuity, called by the ancient British writers, the work of Ambrosius, and by the moderns, *Stonehenge*. Cambrian Biography, p. 249.

dinary compositions of what may be called the fabulous period of the Celtic history, are the "*Englynion Mihw,*" or the Warrior's songs. They are stanzas undoubtedly written during the influence of the Druidical Order, and contain many of their maxims, and throw some light on the obscure part of their history. They consist invariably of three lines, and conclude with a proverbial sentence, a military aphorism, or a moral apophthegm. No doubt is entertained of the antiquity of these stanzas, but various opinions have prevailed respecting their import and original design. Some antiquaries have contended, that the former lines in each of these Druidical triplets have no precise meaning, but are only intended to introduce the latter, which always contain some valuable proverbial truth, or philosophical observation. These authors, no doubt, imagine they act liberally towards their ancestors, in allowing only two thirds of their compositions to have been devoid of sense, while it too often unfortunately happens, that all that some of their descendants have written, may be said to be in that predicament. On maturer investigation, however, it will be found that these stanzas are not only in every line fraught with good sense, but tend, when assisted by the light borrowed from the writings of the Greek and Roman luminaries, to develope much of the manners of the age, and of the mode of education anciently prevalent among the Celts. These metrical productions being generally committed to memory, and seldom preserved in manuscripts, have been rendered obscure, by the accidental transposition of the lines of one stanza into another of a

similar termination, and the studied difficulty of the original composition has been increased by the imperfect manner in which it has been transmitted to the present age. Several of them have been published in Dr. Rhys's folio Latin and Welsh Grammar, in Jones's Relics of the Welsh Bards, and in other works on Celtic and British Antiquity. The following may serve as a specimen of this curious fragment of Druidical literature,

*Eiry mynydd, gwypŵd tŷ,
Cynnefin Brân a chanu,
Ni ddaw da o dra chysgu.**

Winter snows enshroud the plain,
Crows ever prove a croaking train,
The fruit of indolence is pain.

It may be here observed, that the first line † of the warrior's song, generally contains a hint of the time and place of the action recorded; the second conveys an idea of the dramatis personæ, or the principal characters that are mentioned; and the concluding line exhibits the substance of the historic, or fabulous tale, and the moral to be deduced from it. The subject is usually taken from rural life, such as naturally presented itself to the imagination of the original instructors of the Celts, among their groves and forests. The triplet that has been given as an example, may be illustrated by the well known Celtic fable of the Crow and the Squirrel.—“One severe winter morning, when the hills were covered with

* Jones's Relics of the Welsh Bards.

† This order of the lines was sometimes inverted.

snow, and even the birds of the air found it difficult to endure the intenseness of the cold, or find any thing to serve them for sustenance, a Crow, who sat croaking on a tree, complaining of his hard fate, and of the inclemency of the season, observed a Squirrel, who had prudently collected a considerable store of provisions for the season, enjoying himself, and cracking his nuts and his jokes, on a hollow oak, which served him for a comfortable abode, and requested him to favour him with a few kernels, for that he was almost perishing with cold and hunger." "How did you employ yourself during the Summer," said the Squirrel, "that you are forced to act the part of a beggar in the Winter?" "I amused myself in cultivating the beauties of song, foreboding evils to come, and entertaining you and others," said the Crow, "with the manly melody of my voice." "I confess," said the other, "I often heard your hoarse note, but as for its melody, notwithstanding the great practice you have had, I would not give you a nut-shell for the best song you can sing, either in Summer or in Winter. One of the principal requisites in music is to *keep time*, in which he is miserably deficient who wastes his precious hours in attempting a rude song, before he has stored his nest with the necessary articles of life." The feathered pretender to music, finding that nothing could be obtained from the generosity of his neighbour, was willing to hope that something might be made of his inexperience and imbecility. He resolved to try what could be done by stratagem, and expressed his astonishment, that one, whose store-houses were so well furnished,

should fatigue himself, and risk his neck, by skipping from tree to tree in the cold, and not rather lie down at his ease like a gentleman, and take a refreshing nap. "Vaulting from tree to tree proves beneficial to me, not only as exercise," replied the other, "but as the means of decoying the common plunderers of the forest from my habitation; and as for my insomnolency, as I have been active in summer to collect my provisions, I am determined that you shall always find me on the alert in winter, to preserve them; for if I should be caught napping, I should soon find some artful neighbour or other, ingenious enough to discover and exhaust my stores; and were I to perish through indigence, perhaps you, notwithstanding your fair professions, would prove cannibal enough to feed upon my carcass." The moral is *Meliora vigilantia somno*;* vigilance and industry are ever productive of security and plenty; but sloth and negligence tend to want and misery.

The ancients delivered their precepts about manners, or about government, either by comparisons, full and at length, which were called parables; or by short comprehensive sentences, denominated proverbs; of which the Druidical stanzas were regarded as a valuable collection. Parables were taken from the most common objects of nature, or from irrational

* See Jones's Relics of the Welsh Bards. A fable not unlike this may be found in verse, in Owen's edition of Gwylym, the Welsh Bard's works. The *Damhegion Cymraeg*, or Welsh Apologies, contain several fables, corresponding with the warrior's songs. There is a translation of them in MS., by the author of the *Dissertatio de Bardis*.

animals; as the parable of the Fruit Trees and the Bramble, in the Book of Judges; of the Thistle and Cedar, in the Book of Chronicles; of the Hawk and Nightingale, in Hesiod; of the Wolves, Dogs, and Sheep, in Demosthenes; or from the members of the Human Body, as that of Menenius, in Livy. Or they sometimes proved less improbable relations of more natural and ordinary incidents, as the parable of Nathan to David; and most of those in the New Testament. The Welsh, or Celtic apologues that have been preserved, are generally of the former description, and form complete elucidations of some of the Druidical stanzas. In conformity with the customs of the ancients, especially of the Eastern nations, the Druids instructed those committed to their care by short sententious aphorisms, which were occasionally elucidated, as the capacity of their pupils developed itself. Their disciples were divided into three classes—children, youths, and men. The former were placed under the tuition of the lower order of the Bards, whose business it was, while they improved their morals, and cultivated their understandings, to enrich their memories with a copious store of the poetical and philosophical maxims of the Druids, which contained, in a concealed form, the first principles of all knowledge—the seeds of all sciences. “To the Druids,” says Cæsar, “belongs the care of divine things; great numbers of youth come to be instructed by them; their first lesson is to learn a considerable number of verses by rote, about which some have spent twenty years, for they never commit them to writing; not that they are ignorant of let-

ters, for on all other occasions they make use of Greek characters; but I suppose they observe this custom, to lock up their learning from the vulgar, and exercise the memory of their scholars, &c.”* The purport of what they thus committed to memory was, in the first instance, unknown to the pupils, and perhaps, from the studied obscurity of the style, it was hardly intelligible to the master himself. But when the youthful mind unfolded itself, and discovered sufficient capacity to qualify it for admission into a superior class, among the Druidical students, the stanzas they had been so many years learning *memoriter* were now carefully explained to them, their obscurity illustrated, and their meaning enforced, by mythological tales, and fabulous narrations, which, if the inexperienced youths could not comprehend them, never failed to make an impression, that gave the precepts inculcated a more favourable effect, when the matured understanding permitted them to germinate and grow, and fructify in the mind. The fabulous tales known by the name of *Damhegion*, or parables, were, in all probability, some of the fables used on these occasions to illustrate the Druidical *rythms*, and enforce their doctrine. They have been considered, by those conversant in Celtic literature, as the real origin of the romances so prevalent at one period in Europe, and so powerful in their effect on the style and manners of the age. In the infancy of history, when few examples could be drawn from real life to

* Cæsar's Commentaries, lib. vi. cap. viii. See Jones's Relics of the Bards, p. 2, &c.

illustrate the precepts of morality, or the maxims of the art of war, the public instructors among the Celts invented parables, and composed fables to illustrate the apophthegms, and exemplify the dictates of philosophy that had been treasured up in the arsenal of the mind at an earlier period. The arms which had formerly attracted their attention by their brightness and their splendour, the martial students were now taught to handle and to use. The skeletons of Druidical science, which had been the playthings of more infantine years, were now supplied with tendons, strengthened with sinews, and furnished with fibres. The *Damhegion*, or Celtic fables, are examples of the first elucidations, used to illustrate the fundamental maxims, or elementary principles of Druidical learning. The *Mabinogion*, or juvenile amusements, are examples of the species of instruction, calculated to improve the mind of the Druidical pupil, at a maturer period. Of the *Damhegion*, an example has been already produced : many of them have been preserved in ancient manuscripts, and the late Rev. Evan Evans, author of the *Dissertatio de Bardis*, had prepared a copy of them for the press, translated into English, and illustrated with notes. They are remarkable for the comprehensive brevity and energy of their style, and are not unfrequently pointed with the severest satire. In one of them, for instance, two descendants of the little heroes, celebrated in Homer's "*Batrachomomachia*," are represented as having formed for their mutual conveniency a league of alliance. In order to pass a dangerous torrent, one of them, from his habits of life, is under the necessity of

trusting himself on the shoulders of his ally, when a formidable water serpent suddenly makes its appearance, and greedily devours them both. This was probably composed to enforce the truth of the Druidical maxim, "that an alliance with the brave and powerful is advantageous, but with the weak fallacious," and was applied to the expediency of seeking for more powerful allies, against the invading hosts of the barbarous Saxons, than the feeble and degenerated Armoricans. But in the dispute* between the established Christian clergy of Wales, Scotland, &c., and the emissaries of corrupted Rome, under the auspices of the Saxon monarchs, the priest, infallibly promising spiritual safety to his convert, was compared to the frog in the fable, engaging to ensure the mouse against all accidents while traversing a dangerous river, and the water-serpent was supposed to represent the evil spirit, devouring both the monastical director, and his too credulous disciple.

As the Damhegion were illustrations of the Druidical stanzas, adapted to the capacities of the youngest

* It is remarked by Clarke, in his *Letters on Spain*, that the Spanish Christians had preserved themselves pure from popish innovations till the seventh or eight century, and were in doctrine and discipline, nearly what the church of England is at present. *Letters on the Spanish Nation*, p. 10, 11, &c. The same may be said of the churches of Great Britain and Ireland, prior to the Saxon invasion, and the arrival of Austin, or Augustine. The sufferings of the Cambrian clergy on that occasion are well known. The Scots clergy preserved their religion pure from popish corruption much longer, they retired to the hills, and were known by the names of *Culdies*, from *cúl*, thin, and *dú*, black, from their abstemious lives, and grave habits, *Gwr-cúl-dú*.

students, the Mabinogion, or juvenile amusements, were the elucidations of the same subject, chosen to attract the attention of those of maturer understanding. A specimen of this species of composition is given in the second* volume of the Cambrian Register. A Cornish tale of a similar nature is inserted in Lloyd's Archæologia Britannica. That they were originally favourite vehicles of instruction in the Druidical colleges, and were used as illustrations of their philosophical maxims, is the only rational account that can be given of the prodigious number of these romantic tales still preserved among all the Celtic tribes; and the exact conformity observed between them and the stanzas which they were intended to elucidate, is discernible by the most superficial observer. They seldom admit of more than two or three principal characters, and seem designed to enforce some moral precept, or virtuous sentiment. In the hands of the ingenious and learned author, who has lately undertaken to examine them, it will most likely be demonstrated, that they are what he has conjectured them to be, the copious source of the fictitious tales and romances of the middle ages.†

The next class of Druidical students were those who were considered as young men, and who had

* See Vol. ii. p. 322, and vol. i. p. 117. Several of these tales are in the Red Book of Hergest, a MS. in Jesus' College Library, Oxford.

† The dramatic entertainments, formerly so prevalent among the Celtic tribes, and still in *vogue* in some parts of Wales, from the paucity of their characters, and the moral tendency of their subject, may probably be traced to the same source. They are gene-

studied with applause for seven years in each of the former classes ; they were now admitted under the care of the highest order of the Bards, and, in some instances, the Druids themselves condescended to become their instructors. The stanzas which they had learned in their infancy, and which had been partially elucidated by fabulous narrations, were now exemplified by passages taken from real life, or from authentic history ; of which ancient mode of instruction the British Triads may be regarded as venerable monuments. Many passages in them evidently corresponded with the fragments of the Druidical verses still extant, and were probably used as illustrations of them in the Celtic schools.* Cæsar's account of the Celtic system of education is, that the youths were sent by their parents to the college of the Druids, where they consumed twenty years in committing to memory many thousand verses : which corroborates, in a great measure, the narration already supplied, and renders it probable, (as mentioned by other authors), that they remained in a state of literary pupillage till their one-and-twentieth year ; and were nearly seven years under the care of each of the three different orders of the Bardic *literati* ; during which period they were instructed by competent masters,

rally acted in the open air, on temporary stages erected in woods or forests, and are denominated *chwareu'r Hendre lwyd*, dramatic sports of the Old Town. They are asserted by some antiquaries, to be of Trojan origin. Many of the inferior Welsh Bards delight in this species of scenic composition, which they corruptly call *Enterlude*.

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 8.

under the inspection of their superiors, and in the course of occasional relaxations from severer pursuits in the usual accomplishments, playing on the harp, the four-and-twenty manly games, martial exercises, and every thing necessary to complete the Celtic chieftain, and the well disciplined soldier. The ancient Gauls, and the other Celtic tribes, regarded their sons as unfit for society, and seldom* admitted them to their presence, till they had completed their education, were fit to bear arms, had acquired a competent knowledge of the four-and-twenty games, and were calculated to make a respectable appearance at their *Cyfeddachs*, or convivial meetings. Every science appears to have been taught by the Druids, in a similar manner; the elementary parts being delivered in brief, but comprehensive stanzas, which were committed to memory. These fundamental principles were subsequently dilated and illustrated by abler, and more scientific masters, till the radical maxims first introduced into the mind, sprung up into luxuriant plants, and in process of time enlarged their growth, and spread their branches, till, like Merlin's orchard, they sheltered their country with their shade, and enriched it with their fruit. In a warlike nation, and in a tumultuous age, the most gratifying study among the sons of martial chieftains, was the art of war,† the tactics being taught by the venerable

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 9.

† Dunod Fawr, or Dunod the Great, the son of Pabo, is celebrated in the Triads, as the chieftain that excelled all others in tactical knowledge, and skill in the art of war. The other two remarkable for their extraordinary talents in military science,

literati of the Britons, on the same principles as the other arts already described. It happened that, on the subject of their favourite studies, more verses were retained by the Celtic youths, than on that of any other science: hence the Druidical stanzas, some of which being on warlike subjects, and handed down to subsequent ages, were generally denominated, *Englyn Milwr*, or the Warrior's Song. Some of the original elementary verses on the subject, with their correspondent illustrations in the parables and fabulous compositions, and their historical exemplifications in the Triads, are still extant: and where any obscurity is observed in them, it probably arises from the loss of the correspondent fables, or historical passages that tended to illustrate them. A British warrior, doubtless, in those times, could sing the war song to his harp, and in poetic strains divulge all the secrets, and all the scientific maxims of the military art. Expressed in brief, energetic, but abstruse lines, they were completely understood by none but proficient; planted, as they were, in the earliest infancy of the chieftain's mind, they suggested to his thoughts, in every difficulty, apposite examples from history, which served to furnish him with expedients, and tended, in every emergency, to supply him with masterly stratagems, skilful devices, and inexhaustible resources. Schools were erected,* and colleges were founded,

were Cynfelin, or Cunobelinus, and Gwallog, the son of Llênog. These three martial chieftains were celebrated as the three pillars of battle of Great Britain. *Cambrian Biography*, p. 91.

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 8.

among the Celts, even in the most turbulent times : and when the lovers of harmony and of science could find no safer habitation, they retired to the recesses of distant groves and forests, where, secure from the tempests of war, their ingenious and industrious youths cultivated, in peace and tranquillity, the tender plants of learning, and reared the flowers of useful and ornamental arts.*

Bangor Iscoed,† in Flintshire, was famed, during many years, for the learned characters it produced, and the crowds of students that flocked to it from all parts of the Gallic and Celtic territories. This college was founded at an early period, and acquired considerable celebrity. Ynyr, a Silurian prince, distinguished Caer Went, on the confines of Monmouthshire, by a similar endowment. Dunod, Cynwyl, and Illtyd, called by the Latins, Iltudus, were eulogized by the Bards as liberal patrons of similar institutions ; the counties of Glamorgan, Pembroke, and Carmarthen boasted, at one period, their rival seats of the Cambrian Muses ; and Anglesey, in a still earlier age, was considered as the source of literature, and the favourite haunt of the Bards. Those who wished to render themselves perfect masters of Druidical learning, repaired, according to Cæsar's account,‡ to Great Britain to acquire it. Their opinions concerning the omnipotence of the Deity, the immortality of the soul, and their diligence in instructing the youth committed to their

* Lewis's History of Great Britain, b. v. chap. 1.

† Cambrian Biography, pp. 92, 205, 344, &c.

‡ Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 8, &c.

care, in their philosophical system of the nature of things, the extent of the world, and the magnitude and motion of the stars, have been acknowledged and recorded with admiration by contemporary Roman authors.* These testimonies may serve to prove the philosophical acquisitions of the Druidical order, and the celebrity of Britain as the seat of the Muses, as well as the fruitful source of the arts and sciences, in ages long prior to the Christian era. The storms of war and the ravages of time have destroyed most of the fruits of Druidical labour ; but from the flavour of the little that remains, a conjecture may be formed of the peculiar excellency of taste for which the rest were celebrated. The skill of language may render it inaccessible to the indolent or the uninformed ; but to those whose talents, or whose persevering industry have taught them to surmount that difficulty, the specimen of the fruit of ancient Celtic literature, preserved by the curious, has ever afforded a most grateful relish, and a most exquisite mental gratification. These works abound in strains of the purest morality, and occasionally rise to the sublimest thoughts on the power and benevolence of the Deity, the immortality of the soul, the future punishment of the vicious, and the ineffable felicity reserved for the cultivators of piety and virtue. Although in some of them passages occur, so enveloped in fable, and so involved in mythological obscurity, as almost totally to conceal the designs of the author ; yet, in some of

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, *ubi supra*, Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. Sueton. Vit. Cæs. &c.

these Celtic fables, able antiquaries have discovered the prototypes of much of the Grecian mythology ; as in the story of the Celtic hero, whose athletic make was such, that he could carry to the summit of a hill a stone that several oxen afforded not strength sufficient to remove—the origin of the story of Sisiphus, in Cyridwen, the fable of Venus—and what is related of **“ Pair Cyridwen,”* or the Cauldron of Renovation, the source of the Greek fable of Medea. Allusions are made in the works of the bards to the different arts and sciences, as to subjects generally studied and familiarly known, while the fragments on astronomy, natural history, logic, and cosmography, preserved in the British Museum, and referred to by Edward Llwyd and others, in their catalogues of Welsh manuscripts, are decided proofs that literature had made no inconsiderable progress among the Celts. In the treatise on Natural Philosophy, published by Lewis, the editor of the *“ Flores Poetarum Britannicorum,”* the scientific terms are of Celtic derivation, and the subject is handled in a masterly manner, as in a learned language duly cultivated to adorn philosophical disquisitions. In the Treatise on Rhetoric, in the Welsh language, published by Perri, it is remarkable, that the examples adduced, to illustrate the rules, are all selected from the works of the ancient British Bards, and that the technical terms, as well as the

* *Cambrian Biography*, p. 73, &c. By others, Gweno is supposed to be Venus ; Tydain, Taaut, or Hermes ; and Gwgon, celebrated for rolling an immense stone, Sisiphus. *Cambrian Biography*, p. 161.

names of the figures, are also of Celtic origin : which may be regarded as demonstrable evidences, that the art of rhetoric had been some time cultivated among the ancient inhabitants of this island, and that they did not borrow it from the Greeks ; otherwise it would have appeared in a Grecian garb, and would have betrayed, by its language, the source of its nativity.

Of the style and manner of the Celtic Bards at a very early period, a curious instance is given by Posidonius in a fragment preserved in Athenæus. It is related that Luernius, who courted popularity by his largesses, had already bestowed profusions of costly liquors and choice viands on the myriads of Celts that followed him, when a bard who had arrived too late to share in his bounty, joined his retinue, singing to the harp stanzas in praise of his generosity, and being observed, had a bag of gold flung to him from the carriage : when, in grateful strains, he instantly exclaimed,

Διοτι τα ιχνη της γης (εφ ης αρματηλαται)
Χρυσον και ευεργεσιας ανθρωποις φερει.*

Where'er thy chariot wheels are found
To furrow with their track the ground,
A copious harvest springs to bless
The world with wealth and happiness.

This may convey an idea of the style of writing prevalent among the bards of that age, as well as of the promptitude and fecundity of their talents, though this could not be a bard of the higher order ; for, by the bardical institutes, they were forbidden to

* Rev. E. Evan's *Dissertatio de Bardis*, &c.

prostitute their attainments in panegyriizing any but the Omnipotent Author of Nature, and their native chieftains, when remarkable for glorious and heroical actions. The Romans, during their long residence in the British Isles, enervated the manners and enfeebled the force of the Britons, as well as decoyed the boldest and most athletic of their youths to strengthen and enlarge their legions. Whatever the country gained in learning and civilization by its intercourse with the Romans, it lost by the diminution of its wealth, and the enervation of its martial power. The passion for literature, so prevalent at all periods among the Celts, existed prior to the Roman invasion ; but the taste of their most eminent writers, if not corrected, suffered a considerable revolution by their long acquaintance with the classic models of Greece and Rome. It is remarked by some* late authors, that the descendants of the Celts could never coincide in opinion with the Greeks and Romans on the subject of heroic poetry, which was held in such reverence by that primitive nation and its posterity, that fable and invention (the essence of the classical epopee) were never suffered to make a part of it. This may be correctly stated with regard to their strict adherence to truth, and their contempt of fiction, as only worthy of the lower order of bards, to embellish feeble and ill-executed compositions ; but they so far concurred with those renowned people, as evidently to study their works, though they seldom imitated them, and composed epic poems, without

* Jones's Account of the Welsh Bards, p. 19.

having recourse to imaginary gods and fictitious accounts of battles. Llywarch Hên, indeed, who was a warlike prince, and, though initiated into the rites, could not be considered as a regular bard, seems to have known little of classical authors, and to have been a stranger to all inspiration but what he derived from his afflictions and from nature. Aneurin, the celebrated author of the Gododin, appears to have been a finished and accomplished scholar, as well as an eminent poet. It is observed by the late Mr. Lewis Morris, that what we have of that incomparable poem, is in detached parts, scattered through a number of different manuscripts of different periods, but that to form an accurate idea of it, the whole should be collected, and carefully collated. The late Rev. Evan Evans, who transcribed several parts of it, from different manuscripts for Mr. Morris, was of opinion that, if the whole were collected and duly arranged, it would form a complete epic poem of singular beauty and unparalleled energy. The machinery is more simple and natural than that of the Iliad. The author discovers, however, on many occasions that he has studied the works of Homer, though he has not servilely imitated them. In the following passage translated by Mr. Gray, the writer evidently indicates his having drank of the Homeric fount, and that he was not insensible of the excellency of its taste :

*Pan gryssiei Garadawg i gâd,
Mab baedd coed, trychwn, trychiad,
Tarw byddin yn nhrîn gommyniad,
Ef lithiai wyddgwn o'i angad.*

Aneurin's Gododin.

Have ye seen the tusky boar,
Or the bull with sullen roar,
On surrounding foe advance,
So Caradoc bore his lance.

Gray's Poems.

The stanza used in the original poem, is what has since been chosen by Tasso in his *Gierusalemme Liberata*. Why Gray should have been tempted to reduce the heroic lines of Aneurin into what has been called *namby pamby* verses, seems inexplicable; but still through the mist of this unequal translation, the fire flashing from the following lines of Homer may be distinctly perceived :

Ὡς ὅτε τίς σῦς θρῆσιν ἀλκί, πεποιθὼς. Iliad. xiii. 471.

As the fell boar on some rough mountain's head
Arm'd with wild terrors, and to slaughter bred.

Pope.

Ἦντε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων
Ταῦρος. Iliad. ii. 480.

Like some proud bull that round the pasture leads. *Pope.*

In the works of Aneurin's contemporary bards, Taliesin and Merlin, the learned reader will discover many evident vestiges of a classical education. The former frequently mentions the Trojan war; and in his enumeration of the transmigrations of his soul, in conformity with the doctrine of the Druids, he describes his spirit as having once animated one of the heroes who distinguished themselves at the siege of Troy. His poems abound with Latin phrases, allusions to lines in Homer, and to the Odes of Pindar, and the following passage is evidently in imitation of Virgil :

*Y borau ddyw sadwrn cdd fawr a fu,
O'r pan ddwyre haul hyd pan gynnu.*

Taliesin.

Morning rose, the issuing sun
Saw the dreadful fight begun ;
And that sun's descending ray
Clos'd the battle, clos'd the day.

Whitehead's Translation of Taliesin's Ode.

Te veniente die, te decedente canebat. Virgil's Georgics.

His stream of heartfelt praise (with thee begun)
Flow'd from the rising to the setting sun.

The animated speech of Urien to his troops in the same ode, has indubitably many passages strongly resembling the celebrated address of Æneas to the Trojans in the eleventh book of the Æneid.

*Dyrchafwn eiddoed odduch mynydd
Ac ymborthion wyneb odduch emyl
A dyrchafwn beleidr odduch ben gwyr, &c.*

Taliesin.

Rise, ye sons of Cambria, rise,
Spread your banners to the foe ;
Spread them on the mountain's brow,
Lift your lances high in air,
Friends and brothers of the war, &c.

Whitehead.

*Arma parate, animis, et spe præsumite bellum ;
Ne qua mora ignaros (ubi primùm vellera signa
Annuerint Superi, pubemque educere castris) &c.*

Æneid, xi. 18.

Prepared in arms, pursue your happy chance,
That none unwarn'd may plead his ignorance,
And I at heaven's appointed hour may find
Your warlike ensigns waving in the wind, &c.

The whole ode may be truly said to contain many of the peculiar beauties of Virgil, and all Taliesin's

works are perfectly classical : his imitations of the ancients are the imitations of a master ; rather happy allusions adapted to the taste and situation of the country, than stiff and servile copies. Merlin's Orchard has many passages borrowed from the Mantuan bard's account of the Corycian Peasant ; and from Homer's description of the Garden of Alcinous, the fair *Gloywadd* of the British bard, is the *Nau-sicaa* of the *Odyssey*.

In a wide space, and to the sun exposed,
Another fence, another vineyard closed. *Anon.*

Merlin has

Afallen beraidd a saith ugaint
Yn gyfoed gyfuwch gyhyd gymmaint, &c.

Apple-trees branching high and wide, crowned with lovely foliage, &c.

And Homer,

Ενθα δὲ δένδρεα *Odyssey, vii. 115.*

And there tall trees their verdant foliage spread. *Anon.*

The British bard :

Afallen beren bren ! y sydd fad
Nid bychan dy lwyth sydd ffrwyth arnad, &c.

Excellent apple-tree ! thy branches are loaded with delicious fruit.

The Grecian poet :

And apple-trees with loads of luscious fruit.

In Merlin we read,

Afallen beren bren, addfeinus
Gwasgadfod glodfawr, &c.

Sweet apple-tree, of tall and stately growth, how admired thy shade and shelter : often will mighty lords and princes form a thousand pretences for frequenting thy recess.

And Virgil has his,

Jamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.

The tree whose hospitable boughs

A friendly shade on friendly souls bestows. *Anon.*

The "Orchard," from the author's distracted state of mind, savours as much of genius as of madness; but his madness is the madness of a poet, and his poetry the poetry of a scholar. The occasional exquisitely plaintive lines so often introduced on the death of his nephew, whom he had accidentally slain, (a circumstance which deranged the intellects of the bard, and gave him the appellation of "Merlin the Wild"), are most affectingly interesting; and it is impossible to peruse them without compassionating the melancholy state of the writer's disordered mind, as well as admiring the beauties of his style and the elegance of his taste. No person ever yet felt himself equal to the task of attempting it in English verse. It is a most beautiful and, at the same time, a most difficult subject for a spirited ode, and worthy of the pen of a Dryden or a Gray; but perhaps Nathaniel Lee, had he essayed it, would have succeeded better than either.

During the prosperous days of the Celtic muse, the principal bards appear to have been intimately acquainted with the most distinguished authors of Greece and Rome, and, from long acquaintance with them, to have contracted something of their style and manner. But possessing a rich mine of literary stores themselves, and ever cherishing an honourable abhorrence of plagiarism, they seldom condescended to borrow from them. The following

passage from the works of a late celebrated critic will demonstrate that it is no novel opinion which is here avowed of the extensive literature, fertile genius, and independent spirit of the British bards. "Is it not odd that you will find no mention made of Venus and Cupid amongst our Britains, *though they were very well acquainted with the Roman and Greek writers?* That god and his mother are implements which modern poets can hardly write a love-poem without: but the Britains scorned such poor machines. They have their Essyllt, Nyf, Enid, Bronwen, and Dwywnwen of their own nation, which excelled all the Roman and Greek goddesses," &c.* The political troubles that harassed the Principality during the middle ages, gave the Cambrian muse a very plaintive air; and as storms of adversity naturally impel the human mind to the calm and tranquil anchorage of solemn and religious reflections, the poems of that period display a more intimate acquaintance with the Breviary than with the Grecian bard; with the Roman saints than with the heathen deities; as might be instanced in the works of Tudur Aled, and others. Meilyr, a celebrated bard of the twelfth century, begins one of his poems with the words *Rex Regum*, &c.; a sentence borrowed from the public prayers of the time. Soon after the revival of learning in Europe, and about the fourteenth century, when the affairs of the

* Lewis Morris's letter, *Cambrian Register* for 1795, p. 332. Venus and Cupid are often celebrated by the inferior British bards, the former under the name of "Gweno," and the latter under that of "Serch," or "Cariad."

Principality wore a favourable aspect, the Cambrian bards assumed a bolder strain.

One of the most eminent bards that distinguished this period, was Dafydd ap Gwilym, whose works were lately published in London by the ingenious Mr. Owen, afterwards Dr. Owen Pughe, author of the Welsh Dictionary. In a licentious age, and on poetical subjects, those passages afford the keenest gratification that transgress the limits of morality, and expatiate on the indulgence of the passions and the objects of inordinate desire. Gwilym's poems on divine subjects were hardly known, but those on love and gallantry were repeated by every peasant in the country. In process of time, when his private history was forgotten, popular error represented him as dissolute in his conduct, and as immoral in some of his poetical productions. Hence the indecent and extravagant anecdotes that have crept into the history of his life. But it is now proved from the respectable testimony of authors, who derived an account of him from his contemporaries, and from tradition* pre-

* See p. 73. A tradition relative to him in the Cambrian Register, Vol. I. p. 415. He was brought up under the care of Vaughan of Cringar, ancestor of Lord Carbery, and spent much of his time at the court of Ivor Hael, or Ivor the Generous, now represented by the Morgans of Tredegaer. It appears, from his poems, that he had a couple of horses, was attended by a servant, and was a welcome guest in all the first families in Wales and on the Borders. The intercourse with Rome rendered the progress in literature, made in one part of Europe, then known in the other; and it is evident from his works, that he availed himself of every opportunity to improve his mind, and that he was acquainted with all the literature of the times.

served in the families he visited, that he was a man of irreproachable character, of modest manners, and of a studious turn of mind. His looser poems were sacrifices offered on the altar of the deified taste of the times, in order to soothe the prejudices and gain the applause of the vulgar. They were delineations of passions which he never felt, and of beautiful dulcinias whom he never beheld. His poetical rival, Gryffydd Gryg, humorously intimates that, if his friend David's heart had been really pierced by the darts of love as often as his amorous poems imply, it must have resembled a sieve. As he naturally expected, however, he acquired more popularity by these looser effusions, than by his most correct and most elaborate productions on sublimer subjects. He appears to have been well versed in the Italian language, and to have read Petrarch with peculiar attention. Some of his "cywyddau" in praise of Morfydd, if not translations, are happy imitations of some of that renowned writer's sonnets to Laura. Boccace seems to have been one of his favourite authors, several of whose tales he has clothed in Celtic verse. He was likewise well acquainted with Homer. Many passages in his works are embellished with happy allusions to different remarkable incidents in the Iliad. He frequently celebrates Virgil under the name of Fferyllt, and Ovid under that of Ofydd, the appellations by which they were known to the Celtic bards. His humorous description of love under the imaginary figure of a wayward child, which a beautiful nymph left under his care, and obliged him to nurse, till the little urchin, by

his constant attention, grew to an enormous size, and almost pressed him to the earth by the continually increasing weight of its cumbrous bulk, is taken from one of the latter's smaller poems, entitled "In Amorem." His cywydd, called y "Drych," or the Mirror, is an elegant paraphrase on the tenth ode of the fourth book of Horace :—

*Nunc et qui color, est puniceæ flore prior rosæ,
Mutatus, Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam ;*

**Ni thybias is ddewdrais ddirdra
Na bai dég f'wyneb a da
Oni ynnillais yn amlwg
Y drych a llyna un drwg
Dywed im o'r diwedd
Y drych nad wyf wych o wedd.*

Trust not to beauty or to youth ;
The mirror, fam'd for honest truth,
When thoughtlessly I hoped I bore
Th' engaging form I bore before,
Told me the rose of youth was gone,
And all my boasted colour flown.
And while its language raised my rage,
Shew'd me the haggard traits of age.

Anonymous.

But there is one circumstance for which it would be extremely difficult to account. His fable of "the Ant and the Grasshopper" appears to be nearly word for word, the same with La Fontaine's fable on the same subject. Some of the lines in one of these fables seem to be exact translations of the corresponding lines in the other. The description of the

* See Owen's Dafydd ap Gwilym, p. 446, 8vo. London, 1789. Printed for E. Williams, 11, Strand.

ant's comfortable winter abode, in consequence of her industry during the summer months ; the misery of the grasshopper, shivering with cold, and obliged to have recourse to the provident insect's charity ; his answer to the latter's question of " how he had spent the summer ? " that he had " consumed it in singing and amusing himself," and the prudent and sagacious insect's reply, that " now, then, he might go and dance," correspond exactly with the French.

He bien ! dansez maintenant, &c. La Fontaine.

Llamma weithian, llammau dda, &c. Dafydd ap Gwilym.

In singing, ha ! my friend, how gay !

The pastimes of thy summer's day !

Then leave my door, and skip along,

Dancing to thy *sweet* summer's song.

Anonymous.

It is not possible, that the Welsh bard should have perused the fables of La Fontaine, who existed two centuries after him, and it is not very probable, that the French fabulist should have borrowed anything from the works of Dafydd ab Gwilym. The only probable solution of this difficulty is, as both authors were evidently attached to the writings of Boccace, that both of them derived the fable from the same Italian source : and as congenial souls will sometimes be betrayed into a coincidence of taste, that they both happened, in drawing the same portraits, to choose the same drapery.

From the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the present period, the allusions to classical authors observed in the works of the Welsh bards, are very

frequent. Rys Prichard,* in his book called “Llyfr Ficar,” has the following lines :

*Dechreu ddysgu trech yn blentyn,
'Nabod Duw 'ath Brynwr purwyn,
Tempra 'th lestr tra fo'r newdd
A'r gwîn gwynn o dduwiol gufydd.*

Rys Prichard.

which are an exact translation of a passage in Horace :

——— *Nunc adbibere puro
Pectore verba, puer : nunc te melioribus offer.
Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.*

Let thy pure mind imbibe in youth
The wine of uncorrupted truth,
And thy untainted cask will taste
Of this first seas'ning to the last.

Anonymous, from R. Prichard's Poems.

*Fel y damsang meirch rhyfelwyr
Tan eu traed bob math o filwyr
Felly damsang angan diriaid,
Y brenhinwedd, fel begeriaid.*

Rys Prichard.

As steeds in battle rudely rush,
And troops of all descriptions crush
Death treads on subjects as on kings,
And cots and courts to ruin brings.

Anonymous.

*Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres.*

Horace.

* He is mentioned in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, as a man of great abilities ; he adapted his language to the capacity of the vulgar, and did much good by the purity of his doctrine and the excellency of his moral sentiments, and was capable of writing with great elegance.

These lines were written by Rys Prichard about the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or King James I. From that period the Welsh bards appear to have kept up a very close correspondence with the poets of Greece and Rome, and to have enriched their works with excellent translations from the Greek and Roman originals. Translations of several of the Odes of Horace and Anacreon have been published in the "Diddanwch Teuluaidd," while versions in the ancient British language may be found, in manuscript, of every author of eminence, whether ancient or modern ; and to use the words of a popular writer, "the Welsh make at least as good a figure in literature as any of their neighbours."

HISTORICAL ANECDOTES

RELATIVE TO THE ENERGY, BEAUTY, AND MELODY,
OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE,
AND ITS AFFINITY TO THE ORIENTAL LANGUAGES, AND
THOSE OF THE SOUTH OF EUROPE.

It is an extraordinary circumstance, studied as the ancient British language has been for centuries, admired by those who understand it, and despised and vilified only by those who are ignorant of it, that its beauties have not been asserted, nor its force and energy fairly appreciated. The attacks so violently made upon it, and the censures with which it has been as ignominiously as unjustly branded, have led its friends occasionally to undertake its defence ; but they have vindicated it so injudiciously, and opposed its traducers so feebly, that they have injured rather than supported the cause which they have espoused ; and, by the awkward position which they have taken, have trampled on the prostrate body of the language of their country, while they affected to hold up the shield of literature in its defence. Ignorance has affirmed—for what will not ignorance maintain?—that it is a language abounding in consonants, and that it is rough and harsh. To these assertions, at first blindly advanced, and afterwards maliciously sup-

ported, it has been injudiciously said, that its alliterations and other peculiarities compensate for the number of its consonants, and its strength of expression for its harshness. But whatever its pleasing peculiarities or its energy may be, there is no necessity for admitting that they can be considered only as bare compensations for faults, of which it cannot be justly accused. Where, for instance, are the proofs that it abounds with consonants? If compositions can be specified, not only in which there appear a less number of consonants than in productions of the same number of lines in any other language, but in which there are no consonants at all, the charge will prove evidently to be as unjustly made by its enemies, as it is indiscreetly admitted by its friends. In most of the modern Welsh grammars, stanzas of four or five lines, as exemplifications of the rules of prosody, are inserted, which contain no consonants at all. Of this nature is the following epigram on a spider, inserted in "Jones's Relics of the Bards,"

*O'i wiw wy i weu e d, ai weuau
O'i wyau e weua,
E weua ei we aia,
A'i weuau yw ieuau ia.*

From his own eggs the busy worm
Attempts his hasty webs to form,
Like rings in ice, they seem to view,
Beauteous like those and brittle too.

From these examples, which every person, not totally ignorant of the ancient British language, knows might be multiplied without end, it will appear evident, that to reproach the Welsh with the number of their consonants, is as absurd as it is

unjust. For what can be more ridiculous, than to find authors ignorant of the language preferring the charge of multiplicity of consonants against compositions, which upon examination prove to be totally devoid of them? In what other tongue, can stanzas of thirty or forty syllables be written in an easy elegant style, consisting entirely of vowels and of a few occasional diphthongs? But if it be thought too arduous a task to produce, in any other language, so many complete stanzas, entirely destitute of consonants, let any advocate of a favourite modern tongue exhibit if possible any number of lines, in any other language, comparable with an equal number of Welsh lines, with regard to the paucity of the consonants, that occur in the following example; and many instances of a similiar nature might be adduced, where only two consonants appear.

*Un wén Helen anwyla**

A wna aua i ni'n ha.'

A'n hoyw ha oni weni

A á yn aua i ni,

Un ael in'ni lawena

Ni wén haulwen ein ha'.

Helen, one gracious smile will bring
 In winter all the charms of spring;
 And, when thou smil'st not, spring appears
 In the dark garb that winter wears;
 And sorrow ev'ry visage shrouds,
 And summer's suns are lost in clouds.

* Y and w are considered as vowels, and sounded as such in the above examples, w is pronounced like the *ou* in French, in the word *oui*, yes.

In the following example only four consonants occur, and those four are what are generally deemed liquids.

*Meinwen ry eriau mwyna
A'r wén o liw haulwen ha'
A'r iál wen, a'r ael winau,
A unír nien yr hén iau?
A lenwir i ní leni,
Ran lawen meinwen a mi?
Mae'n horiau yma'n hwyro,
Rhyw wiw air ar ryw awr rho.*

Fair maid, whose gentle accents please,
Whose smiles the storms of wrath appease,
With fairest hair, and nut-brown brow,
Shall we the vow of lovers vow?
Shall this year's circling seasons prove,
The wish'd completion of our love?
Our fleeting hours pass fast away
Shall we, my fair one, still delay?

In the works of the different grammarians, who have attempted at various periods to elucidate the language, many instances occur of whole stanzas composed in the most difficult measures known to the bards, in which no consonant occurred except the letter *r*, but as that letter is thought by many to have a jarring sound, those stanzas are not here inserted. It is justly considered by Addison as a mark of false wit, to waste time in compositions which can admit of only certain select letters, and which carefully reject all others; the instances produced, however, were intended not as proofs of wit, but as apt examples selected from poems written in a very difficult measure, to demonstrate the paucity of the consonants generally used in the Welsh language, especially in works on tender and amorous subjects.

These instances might have been easily multiplied, and if examples had been added, where the remaining liquids or semi-vowels, and a few of the softer consonants occur, the proofs would have been so numerous as to obscure rather than illustrate the subject; these proofs however are not necessary. The alphabet itself demonstrates that the charge of a multiplicity of consonants is fallacious. There are, strictly speaking, only twenty-two* letters in the language, seven of which are vowels; there can remain therefore but fifteen consonants, which is a more inconsiderable number than most of the European languages are obliged to admit. It is true that some of these consonants must, according to this arrangement, represent two different sounds, but that is no more than is usually the case in most languages. In the Hebrew, for instance, which the ancient British language greatly resembles, a point or daggesh inserted in a letter, or placed over it, is considered as an indication that such letter bears a sound very different from its usual pronunciation. And in French, a cedilla placed under the letter ç indicates that it is to be sounded like an s, though its general pronunciation is like a k. In like manner in the Cambro-British language, a small point over the letter d when to be sounded in the same manner as the softened th, over the letter l when aspirated, or over c when to be sounded like a guttural, would answer every pur-

* Twenty-four however is a favourite number with the Welsh, as may be seen in their games, their music, and their poetic measures; and they generally reckon twenty-four letters in the alphabet.

pose of various pronunciation, and render the absurd practice of doubling the letters superfluous and unnecessary. For, to persons ignorant of the language, what can have a stranger appearance, or give a more erroneous idea of the sound intended to be conveyed, than our dd, ll, ch, &c. That we have, in fact, but few consonants is demonstrable, but the absurd mode of doubling the characters leads to a misconception relative to the ancient British character. In the infancy of printing, no types* were cast for the language of the principality of Wales. Welsh books were printed therefore with English types; and the casual variation in the sounds of the consonants, was distinguished by the reduplication of the letter. The first bold critic who deigned to examine this spelling, having assumed his spectacles and narrowly viewed the newly printed page, hazarded an opinion, though he was totally ignorant of the language, that it had a great number of consonants, because, from the unnecessary redoubling of the characters, the consonants naturally appeared to him to be twice as numerous as they really were; an opinion which has ever since been bandied about from critic to

* Cæsar observes, that the Britons or Gauls used the Greek characters; they were probably Celtic, and only resembled the Greek. When the Romans prevailed in Britain, the Roman character was adopted, and only a few of the old characters retained to express sounds peculiar to the Welsh. This was the character in use at the Saxon invasion, which the Saxons, who were illiterate, borrowed; thence this mixed Roman and British alphabet has been called the Saxon alphabet, though it is used in Irish and Welsh manuscripts written before the arrival of the Saxons in this country.

critic, and traveller to traveller, till at length, without examination or inquiry, it has become fashionable to assert, that the Welsh abounds in consonants. The thoughtless flock of authors on philological subjects have blindly copied their precursors. The first that rushes into error, immediately attracts the attention of the whole race, and, let the path into which he has strayed, be ever so devious or ever so dangerous, is instantly followed by all who have an opportunity of treading in the same steps or of pursuing the same track. Nothing could be more foreign to the truth, than the remarks echoed from author to author on the number of the Welsh consonants, excepting the observations made on the roughness of the language by those who are unacquainted with it. The censure had been passed, and it was implicitly credited, and studiously propagated, without any inquiry into its justness, or any doubt of its consistency. But it has happened that the same writers who have condemned the language for its harshness, have likewise noticed the sweetness of its melody, the variety of its harmony, and the generosity of the passions, which it never failed to inspire among the people. Effects which every historian acknowledges, when he relates that at one period, from a jealousy of the Welsh spirit, bardism had been interdicted, and the bards prevented from exercising their art. If its effects were so great when combined with the powers of music, it will not appear probable that it should be remarkable for its harshness. No observation could be more unfortunate, or more inconsistent with truth. The authors who first hazarded these

opinions, and those who blindly adopted them, could not have been more erroneous in their judgment. The language is remarkable for its variety of powers, and is not to be surpassed in softness; it is not exceeded by the Italian in the tenderness of its expressions and the sweetness of its sounds, and if any appearance of harshness should occur in its pages, it must be attributed to the amazing extent of the language, which contains in it sounds and expressions of every kind. It at least equals the language of Italy in the softness of its sound, is often taken for it by those who are but imperfectly acquainted with both, and frequently exceeds it in the beauty of its phrases and the peculiar felicity of its sentences. That this assertion is not without foundation, will appear evident to every one who will examine the poetry of both countries. The following stanzas are selected not for the beauty of their poetry, or for the mellifluence of their sound, but because, plain and inelegant as their language might appear, they happen to abound, in common with a thousand others that could be cited, in words bearing a strong resemblance to the Italian, and the whole, collectively considered, will hardly be adjudged inferior to it in mellifluence of sound or softness of expression.

*Cara, Cara'r, lodes lana,
 Cara'r tecca, cara'r salwa,
 Bustl blin, a dil mêl arno
 A gâr y galon lon a garo.*

Let love but once possess thy breast,
 Thy heart can never be at rest;
 Whether the brown nymph or the fair,
 Or the plain maiden prove thy care,

Love will present thee oft with gall,
But his own sweets correct it all.

The following extract from an artless pastoral boasts an excellence of composition, and bears no appearance of studied attempts at softness of sound, yet it would be difficult perhaps to find, even in Italian writers, so many lines devoid of inharmonious expressions.

*Dere'n nes fy lodes lân,
Gywirliw, gâd dy gorlan,
Mae o lysiau melusa
'Naml o'd'ôl, yn yml y da,
A rhês o flodan rhosau,
A hynny'n dew, i ni'n dau
Ewn law law, cym'mrwn lili,
A'u blodau'n rhannau i ni
A bysedd rhwymwn bosi,
Ffel at hyn, nid ffôl wyt ti,
Rhoed yn glôs, fel ar rosyn,
Gwlwm da ar galon dyn, &c.*

Come, gentle Shepherdess, divinely fair,
In these rich meads forsake thy fleecy care;
Here are sweet plants, and ev'ry herb thy love,
Here let them brouse while we at pleasure rove,
And cull the lily and the blushing rose,
And the pale pink, and ev'ry flow'r that blows :
O'er ev'ry field in quest of flow'rs I'll haste,
While thou shalt bind them with thy wonted taste,
For these seem, Shepherdess, thy fav'rite arts,
To bind up boquets, and imprison hearts.

Should the instances that have been given be considered as composed in some measure on amorous subjects, and should they for that reason be looked upon as intended to convey sounds possessed of greater softness than the works of the bards in general may be able to boast, the following stanzas, ex-

tracted from a poem addressed to Parry, the late celebrated harper, a little before his death, if not very musical, will be sufficient at least to shew that soft sounds in this beautiful language are not confined to subjects connected with the tender passion.

*Wds tecca para Parri, i hwylio,
Ar wyliau'r cwmpeini
Mal eos y melusi,
Swn tannau ein telynnau ni
Mae dy delyn wen leni, i foli,
Ar fil yn rhagori
Wel etto, mae hwyl i ti
A dawn net in denu ni
Y bys fel yn cwrlo, dwylo
Ar y delyn yn dawnsio
Dwrn weile, a'i fawd arno,
A'i lais draw, melus ei dro, &c.*

Leave us not, Parry ; for thy skill
Improves our tuneful efforts still,
As the sweet nightingale improves
The native music of our groves.
Thy lyre o'er ev'ry lyre prevails,
Thy praise resounds thro' all our vales,
Thy talents fascinate the throng—
All are enchanted with thy song ;
Thy fingers struggle with the strings,
Till thy tried hand indignant rings
Such magic peals, that ev'ry ear
Wonders, and listens still to hear, &c.

But composed on a subject bearing some alliance to music, these stanzas may still perhaps be considered as more harmonious, and abounding in softer sounds, than is customary in compositions on less tuneful subjects; the following therefore is adduced as an unobjectionable example, as it is part of a poem on the gout, a subject it will readily be ac-

knowledge, neither gentle in its manner, nor possessing any thing attractive or harmonious in its nature.

Poen im'a blîn yn blino, poena*
I tecca in teccio,
Poen drûd lûn, i Pen, i droed lanno,
Poen ir aelodau pan hîr ledô,
Poen in dala pen a dwylo,
Poen in hel i pen a c'ûilo
Pui ber i gesti gostio, guesta,
Pan ranna poen arno, &c.

The heaviest pain that haunts us here,
 Is a pain the fair may bear,
 A pain the rich may often know
 When Fortune's fav'ring breezes blow ;
 Too well they feel, that human bliss
 Is dearly bought, who suffer this ;
 From head to foot it swiftly flies,
 And every joint and member tries ;
 Then on the foot or on the hand
 Unsparingly it takes its stand,
 Severely on its victim bears,
 And melts the stoutest heart to tears.
 If this pain be the glutton's guest,
 Who would not fly the splendid feast ?
 If such the portion pleasures give,
 Who would in vicious pleasures live ?

In this passage, though from the nature of the subject much softness of sound could not have been expected, yet many of the words are Italian, several others bear a strong resemblance to those of that language, and the stanza in its structure, number of lines, and identity of rhyme, appears extremely

* In this example as y, and w are not letters often used in Italian, i is placed for y, and u for w, for the difference of pronunciation is hardly perceptible.

similar to the Italian poetry at present in frequent use. It is one of the four-and-twenty measures, anciently in fashion among the earlier inhabitants of the British Isles—but rendered considerably more difficult, by the stricter rules needlessly adopted in subsequent ages—and is similar to that used by Tasso in his “Gierusalemme Liberata.” The metre in which the “Gododin,” a British epic poem of the sixth century, is written, bears a still stronger resemblance to the measure selected by Tasso. Very little doubt can be entertained that the metre which distinguishes the “Gierusalemme Liberata” is of Celtic origin, and that its parent is what is still so much admired by the lovers of the muses among the Cambro-Britons. Not that the Italians derived it immediately from the bards of the principality of Wales, but that they inherited it from the Longobardi, a Celtic tribe, that during the decline of the Roman empire issued from the German forests, depopulated a considerable portion of Italy, and gave its name to Lombardy, that part of the country which borders on the river Po. This tribe was esteemed very powerful, and occupied a part of Germany in the time of Tacitus. That eminent historian describes it as an inconsiderable tribe as to population, and as owing its weight in the Germanic scale to its bold and enterprising spirit, rather than to the number of its forces or the extent of its territories. When possessed of the fertile regions washed by the Po, they still persisted in their ancient customs, and preserved their original habits, their love of poetry, and their enthusiastic ardour for music, and in a short period the

soft infection of their manners spread itself over the neighbouring country. The introduction of the harp on all festive occasions, the universal partiality for it, which was observable soon after that period, and the prevalence of the custom of accompanying it with the voice, are strong marks of a Celtic origin. The impromptu poetical effusions, and their musical accompaniments, prevalent in Italy in the middle ages, have their source, no doubt, in the Pierian spring which the Longobardi, or tall bards, so liberally quaffed. Lord Lyttelton* remarks, that when he first passed some of the Welsh hills, and heard the harp, and the beautiful female peasants accompanying it with their melodious voices, he could not help indulging in the idea that he had descended the Alps, and was enjoying the harmonious pleasures of the Italian paradise. Howel, the author of the Dictionary of the principal languages of Europe, observes that he was forcibly struck with the similarity of features, which he at least imagined the peasants, in some districts in Italy, bore to the inhabitants of some parts in the principality of Wales. An observation in which he is supported by the subsequent remarks of Mrs. Piozzi on what she saw in the course of her travels through Italy. The little intercourse they have had with foreign nations, and their original descent from the same Celtic source, are the principal reasons assigned for this visionary similitude. The identity of their origin is imagined to be in a great measure demonstrated by the similarity

* See Lord Lyttelton's Letters from Wales, &c.

of their customs, their love of music,* their attachment to the muses, the sprightliness of their disposition, and the simplicity of their manners. The analogy which the favourite metres of the ancient British bards bore to the Italian has been noticed by several critics, particularly by Dr. John David Rhys, in his elaborate Latin treatise on the grammar of the Welsh language. He analyzed several of the corresponding stanzas of both nations, descanted on the analogical properties of each, and assigned reasons for the occasional difference observable between them. Few men ever possessed greater critical acumen, or could be better qualified than he was, by his great proficiency in both languages, to state their comparative merits. He was educated at the University of Sienna, where he resided many years, and he was so well versed in Italian literature, that he was chosen Professor of the language. He adduces several instances, particularly in the earlier and middle centuries, in which a distinct analogy is perceptible in the prosody and the poetical taste of the two nations. In the most common colloquial phrases in the modern Welsh, an evident similarity to the Italian language is obvious to every discerning ear; nothing is more usual than to hear

* Jack Owen having gone to London to see an opera, while a student of Oxford, was so agitated at the performance, (which he always was at fine music,) that he drew the attention of an Italian gentleman in the pit, who addressed him first in his own language, then in broken English, "Signeur, Sir, Sir, be you von Italiano?" "No," said Jack, not liking to lose a note of the music, "don't tease me, I am a *Welshiano*."

the peasants accosting each other in some such expressions, "*Sut' rwyd ti, Deio?*" "*Ble mae Gutto?*" "*Sut mae Neli 'n tyccio?*" * &c. Strangers to both languages are apt not unfrequently to mistake the Welsh for the Italian. Three templars, natives of the Principality, once on a time, returning from Vauxhall, exhilarated by the juice of the grape, had a dispute with an equal number of citizens in a similar situation, and it was decided on the spot by an appeal to their respective pugilistic powers. Two of the Cambro-Britons proved victorious, but the third appeared to have met with a doughtier antagonist; his companions considering it ungenerous and dishonourable to afford him manual assistance, gave him a little friendly advice, exclaiming, "*Dal atto, dal atto, at i vol o!*" "Adhere to him, adhere to him, aim your blows at his chest." He took the hint, changed his mode of attack, and brought his opponent to the ground, who, seated in the dust like Dr. Slop in the mire, scratched his head, vociferating, "Hang that Italian, and his outlandish lingo: why did he interfere? if he had been silent, I think I should have mastered my man." The Welsh in common conversation often use Italian words. Two young men at Oxford were amusing themselves at

* "How dost thou, David?" "Where is Griffith?" "How does Helen get on?" Let this be translated into any other European language, and the superior softness will be admitted. The familiar appellation of every name in Welsh terminates in a vowel, which is the case likewise with the plural of most nouns, and the first person of the present tense, and the imperative of most verbs.

the old school-play of capping Latin verses, where one cites a line beginning with the same letter which terminated that of his opponent. A third person accidentally coming into the room, asked if they did not consider it a degradation in collegians to waste their hours in an amusement calculated only for the third or fourth form of a school. "*Oh !* da capo*," replied one of the poetical combatants, and continued the contest. The following specimen of words used in both languages will demonstrate how near they approach each other.

ITALIAN.

Capella, a chapel,
Cantara, to sing,
Campione, a champion,
Dio, God,
Ecclesia, a church,
Finestra, a window,
Fossa, a ditch,
Mele, honey,
Mare, the sea,
Penna, the top,
Penna de Monta,
Ponta, a bridge,
Picca, a sharp beak,
Pescata, fishing,
Pasqua, Easter,
Rhosa, a rose,
Spiritolo, spiritual,

WELSH.

Capela, chapels.
Cantwr, a singer.
Campio, to act the champion.
Duw, God.
Eglwysi, churches.
Ffenestri, windows.
Ffosdu, ditches. [honey
Mél, honey, *mela*, to gather
Môr, the sea.
Pennau, heads. [mountains.
Pennau Mynyddau, tops of
Pontau, bridges.
Picca, sharp beaked.
Pysgota, fishing.
Pasq, *pasga*, to observe Easter.
Rhosau, roses.
Ysbrydoli, to spiritualize.

These few words may serve to demonstrate the resemblance which the modern Italian bears to the

* They were natives of the principality of Wales ; "*da capo*" in the Cambro-British language implies, " it is good to cap verses."

ancient British. To collect every corresponding word would be to form a Lexicon rather than to write an essay. In the arrangement of words in composition, the construction of phrases, and the formation of sentences,* the similarity is very obvious; but the Italian having arrayed itself after the fashion of the modern languages, much of the elegant simplicity of the eastern style is lost, and though the materials of which the habiliment is manufactured is a counterpart of the Welsh, the fantastical manner in which it has been fashioned, and the superfluity of unnecessary ornaments with which, in conformity to modern customs, it has been encumbered, render the alliance between the two languages less suspected, and their mutual similitude less striking. The ancient British will not however suffer from comparison, when examined together with this or any other modern language. It is capable of every ornament of which the others can boast, and when the subject suits, it possesses, from the eastern construction still belonging to it, a softness of expression and a tenderness of diction, that modern tongues fruitlessly attempt to imitate. Very little doubt can remain that the modern Italian owes its melliflence of sound to the manners and the language of the Celtic tribe of the Longobardi, who, being all enthusiastically attached to the musical and poetical pursuits of bardism, adapted their language to the rules of poetry, and to the melody of the harp, and rejected most words that

* Whole Italian sentences are sometimes met with that are perfect British, as "Asene di Balaam," Balaam's Ass.

did not either terminate in a vowel, or admit of an harmonious cadence. They lost however in process of time much of their own language, and adopted many terms from the Latin, and not a few from the language of the barbarous nations that at different periods over-ran and depopulated Italy. Hence it is that in poetical compositions, where sweetness of sound is an object of attention, the Welsh in masterly hands is capable of a greater degree of softness and tender felicity of expression, than the Italian. It is a circumstance well known to those who are acquainted with the inexhaustible resources of the ancient British language, that entire poems, or treatises of considerable length, may be composed in it, without admitting any but the softer consonants, or adopting any word that does not possess a mellow and harmonious sound. Moreover, its native peculiar powers are so remarkable, that a proficient in the language, who has a talent for composition, may produce a tract in it, in either prose or verse, of no inconsiderable magnitude, where no words shall appear but such as are of acknowledged Italian extraction. The powers of the ancient British in fact have never been fairly tried: a few fugitive pieces have been circulated in verse, where an attempt appears to have been made at elegance of style, and softness of expression, as in Richards' Pastorals, and some others, which display no ordinary merit; but very few of late years in prose, deserving of particular attention, as elegant classical compositions, unless we except "Bardd Cwsg," or "the Visions of the Bard," and one or two more. Justice to the abundant resources

of the language, however, renders it necessary to observe that more may be effected than has ever yet been attempted. But we have had no munificent patrons, no De Medicis, no Leo the Tenth, to foster our youthful poets, or shelter and cherish the rising genius of Welsh literature. All that has been effected, has been undertaken to gratify the taste of a few patriotic individuals, or to indulge a spirit of emulation raised between rival provinces, by no very important attempts to recover some pieces of antiquity, and point out a few beauties in a language of remote origin and singular construction, and to demonstrate the unnatural prejudices of those, who can discover innumerable beauties in foreign tongues, while they are strangers to the elegance, and unacquainted with the persuasive softness of their own. During the reign of some of the most liberal of the Welsh princes, various instances occurred, of men who raised themselves to eminence by the beauties of their compositions, and who placed in a most conspicuous point of view, the superior charms and expressive tenderness that mark their language. Literature was then, in some measure, encouraged and genius protected, but the taste of that period was so defective or so vitiated, the progress made in the sciences was so inconsiderable, or so obstructed by the tumults and dissensions of the times, that the most distinguished of those ages, though confessedly characterized by many beauties, are such as cannot be expected to be the haunts of the Graces, that smile on the chaste and classical labours of the present day. In simplicity, in bold and sublime con-

ceptions, in an animated and expressive diction, they are justly and deservedly admired. But in correctness of style, in smoothness and elegance of language, they differ materially from the classical compositions of a more modern period. Even then, however, from the peculiar beauties of the language, in defiance of the homely garb in which she was clad, innumerable pleasing traits were discernible, and notwithstanding the many cacophonies in which that age delighted, many melodious passages occur in the productions of the best authors, some as soft and mellifluous as any of the most admired pieces of which Italy can boast. Petrarch did not celebrate the beauties of his Laura, in more numerous or more admired compositions, than the British bard has offered as a tribute to the charms of his lovely Morfudd; and Petrarch can hardly be said to have surpassed him in harmony of periods or mellifluence of verse. On one occasion Gwilym describes his happiness in being permitted to converse with his beautiful mistress, and compares the pleasing softness of her language to a vernal shower of honey-dew, falling among the leaves of the forest.

A dil mēl ar y dail mân.

Her gentle accents as she spoke
Seem'd dew-drops on the vernal oak.

On another occasion he describes her head-dress and the beautiful colour of her hair, and inquires with his usual *naïvetè* if it were fabricated of ripe hazelnuts, or of thread composed of the finest ductile gold.

A'i plisg y gneuen wisgi?

A'i dellt aur yw dy wallt di?

Did the ripe hazel lately shed
 Its envied honours on thy head?
 Or did kind nature's hand enfold,
 Thy hair in slend'rest threads of gold?

Juvenile indiscretion having involved the bard in inextricable difficulties, a legal process having encumbered him with debt, and an enormous fine, which he was condemned to liquidate, having completed his apparent ruin, the men of Glamorgan generously united to relieve him from his embarrassments, and restore him to happiness and the unmolested enjoyment of his muse. The first effect of his gratitude was a poetical address to the sun, praying it might for ever shed its choicest lustre, and its most benignant influence on the men of Glamorgan, and that a pernicious blight, or an unfavourable season might never be experienced in that paradise. The entire poem is admirable, and may be considered as decidedly one of the finest compositions in the Welsh, or perhaps in any language. It is not so much a studied piece of poetry, as a rapturous burst of gratitude from the heart. In allusion to the fair cause of his difficulties, he addresses the fountain of light as a female, and among many other beautiful expressions he has

*Em loywaf aml oleuni,
 Ymmerodres tés wyt ti, &c.*

Fair Empress! whose resplendent sway
 Rules the bright confines of the day,
 To the rich gems that deck thy brow,
 Summer's celestial light we owe, &c.

Gwyddno, a celebrated chieftain of Ceredigion, having lost the whole of his extensive territories by

an unexpected inundation of the sea, his son Elphin, from the highest expectations, was reduced to the necessity of maintaining himself and family by the produce of a weir, formed on a part of his father's ruined estate. Having on a particular occasion a considerable sum of money to pay, he sent his men to the weir with the eager desire of converting the contents of their net into something more substantial and profitable. They exerted themselves during the greatest part of the night, and towards morning, instead of a valuable draught of fish, they returned with a leathern coracle that had been turned adrift, and with a little boy whom they had found in it, and who afterwards proved to be the renowned and unrivalled Taliesin. While Elphin lamented his disappointment, the almost infant bard exclaimed.

*Elphin dŷg taw a'th wylo,
Ni welwyd yngored Wyddno,
Erioed cystal a heno, &c.*

Grieve not, Elphin, grieve no more,
Heaven shall bless thy little store,
And what this night's fortune found,
Shall with choicest gifts be crown'd, &c.

The Welsh critics are profuse in their praise of this first effort of Taliesin's muse; and historians add, that Elphin's protection of the poetical orphan terminated in the renovation of his fortune, and the revival of the former splendour of his family. It is evident that whatever beauty* this and most of the

* The reader is referred to the 1st vol. of the Cambrian Register, and to Walter's Dissertation on the Welsh language, for observations on other beautiful lines, and on the celebrated musical couplet,—

preceding extracts can claim, they were not the result of literary toil, nor were they the offspring of extraordinary poetical judgment. They were the effusions of nature, and art hardly afforded any aid in adding ornaments to their native dress. Whatever ease or elegance of diction they possess, must therefore be attributed to the sweet softness and harmony of the Celtic tongue, the musical tendency of which is such, that the poet must be peculiarly unfortunate, who does not enliven his toil with some tuneful lines, let his ear be ever so inharmonious, or his mind ever so uninfluenced by the charms of poetical numbers. In prose the same felicity of expression frequently occurs, though few instances can be given of a laboured attempt at elegance or softness of language.

Roberts, a member of the university of Sienna, in his admirable Welsh grammar, published in the fifteenth century, has produced a successful translation of Cicero's Dialogue de Senectute, &c. In this translation are some beautiful passages, though he seems to attend more to the sense of his author, than to the harmony of his periods. Perry, in his Treatise on Rhetoric, in the Welsh language, printed about the conclusion of the seventeenth century, has occasionally some very musical periods. Lewis of Caio, father of the late vicar of that parish, and editor of a collection of Welsh poems, called "*Flores Poetarum Britannicorum*," presented to the public, in the lan-

Mél o leisiau meluson,
Mél o hyd symmola hon, &c.

guage of the Principality, an excellent Treatise on Natural Philosophy, which he modestly denominated "*Briwsion oddiar fwrdd y dysgedigion*," or Fragments from the Table of the Literati. It is an admirable epitome of every thing that is valuable in the philosophical discoveries of the last century and the preceding, and is as much admired for the beauty of its language, as for the compendious fecundity of its pages, while its style seems as artless as its contents are useful. Theophilus Evans, in his historical treatise entitled "*Drych y prif oesoedd*," or a View of the Earlier Ages, displays great brilliancy of composition, though, from the general negligence of his manner, it seems to be the offspring of chance, rather than the effect of any regular design. In the multifarious theological, scientific, and miscellaneous works, recently published, many passages occur, which although not composed, perhaps, with much attention to elegance of diction or mellifluence of sound, yet appear hardly inferior in smoothness of language and harmony of periods, to any production of the most celebrated Italian authors.

The third Vision of Bardd Cwsg, or the Visions of the Bard, opens with a beautiful period, which has been deservedly admired and frequently imitated. But this was evidently the effect of labour and of a correct and cultivated taste. It is a description of Spring. The scene is placed on the banks of the Severn; and the author seems to have put forth all the powers of his pen to describe the brilliancy of the prospect, the verdure of the meads, the music of the groves, and the genial

warmth of the season. But to display the native beauties of the ancient British language, a less laboured period will afford a more just though a simpler representation of the softness it possesses, as well as of the uncultivated charms with which it is endowed. Near the commencement of the first Vision, the author describes himself as having been surprised by the resistless influence of the soporific powers, and humourously adds, "*ac ynghysgod blinder daeth fy Meistr Cwsg yn lledradaidd, i'm rhwymo, ac â'i agoriadau plwm fe gloes ffenestri fy llygaid, a'm holl synwyrâu eraill yn dynn ddiogel. Etto gwaith ofer oedd iddo geisio cloi'r Enaid, a fedr fyw a thrafaelio heb y corph.*" "Under covert of fatigue, Morpheus clandestinely approached, and bound me with his usual expedition; and with the leaden power of his keys, he closed the windows of my visual chambers, and effectually locked up all my faculties. But he found it a vain attempt to endeavour to confine the soul, which, without the assistance of the body, knows well how to enjoy itself, to change its situation, and expatiate at pleasure." In this sentence, which certainly was written without any attention to harmony of words, the expressions "*agoriadau,*" "*synwyrâu,*" "*rhwymo,*" "*travaelio,*" &c., are as musical as any of which the Italian can boast; while, had the intention been to avoid every harsh word, "*llygaid*" might have been changed for "*golygon,*" and "*daeth fy Meistr Cwsg yn lledradaidd*" for "*yna deua'r Duwiau'r Cwsg yn, dan ddistawi'r cwbl on deutu.*" So copious is the language, that for every object, several diffe-

rent expressions present themselves; and a writer, who is attentive to the strength or beauty of his style, may at pleasure render his sentences expressive as the Greek, rough as the German, lively as the French, or soft and harmonious as the Italian.

But here it may be naturally enquired, if the Cambro-British language be so remarkable for the smoothness and modulation of its periods, by what unfortunate concurrence of circumstances has it happened that most of the critics who have had occasion to advert to it, have conspired to represent it as a rough and inelegant language? To this it may be answered, that too many persevere in maintaining the opinions of their predecessors, without examination and without reflection, while others presume to judge of a language, without acquiring any knowledge of it; and because, to adapt the sound to the English characters, several letters may occasionally be used to express a single syllable, they hastily conclude that the ancient British must be rough and inharmonious. But the fact, on the contrary, is, that no language can naturally be softer or more musical; and that it has cost the exertion of the first-rate talents for many centuries, to give it the asperity which it now apparently wears in some modern compositions. From the number of words terminating in vowels, the formation of the plural by the addition of another syllable with a vocalic termination, and the graceful fall of the accent in most words on the penultima, the natural tendency of the language seemed to be to tenderness and to harmonious cadences. The bards of a martial

people, therefore, in order that effeminate sounds might not weaken the warlike energy of their youth, laboured to give their compositions all the vigour and masculine expression in their power ; and for many centuries, to produce a soft and tender period among some of the Celtic tribes, would have been as disgraceful, as it would have been among some ancient states to add another string to the lyre. Tacitus describes the whole military line, while rushing forward to action, as repeating in concert some martial composition of their divinely-inspired bards, and as forming their opinions of the success of the battle from the thunder of its sound, and the rapturous lightning it shot through their bosoms :—“ *Ituri in prælium canunt. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur terrent enim, trepidantve, prout sonuit acies. Nec tam voces illæ, quam virtutes concentus videntur, affectatur præcipuè asperitas soni, et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat.*”

“ When they march to battle, they rouse their souls to valour, by singing, as in general concert, some verses composed by those whom they call bards ; and they conjecture the success of the day, from the force and energy of their warlike song. And they strike terror, or are seized with trepidation, as the musical thunder of the line sounds feebly, or echoes tremendously : nor does that concert seem so much an exertion of their voices, as an essay of their valour, and a prelude to the battle. They

particularly affect asperity and roughness of sound, a broken and frequently interrupted murmur, and they apply their shields to their mouths that the reverberation of their rough notes may cause the natural force of their voices to seem louder and more terrible." The same extraordinary partiality for asperity of language has continued from that age to the present; and in a tongue remarkable for harmony of periods and modulation of numbers, to produce compositions distinguished for their energy, their terrific cadences, and for heroic and enthusiastic spirit, was considered as a proof of genius, and as an indication of a correct taste. Gwilym's celebrated ode, at the repetition of which by a datgeiniwr, or rhapsodist, his poetical rival, Rhys Meigen, fell down and instantly expired, is as remarkable for the roughness of its verse, as it is for the extravagant sublimity of its fancy. It has generally been known by the name of the "Test of Sobriety," because it was deemed impossible that any person, unless perfectly sober, and capable of correctly exerting all the organs of speech, could ever accurately rehearse it.

The late Rees Jones, Esq., of Blaenau, who was much admired for his bardic compositions, and who, a few years since, paid the debt of nature at a very advanced age, in the mountainous parts of Merionethshire, published a quarto volume, of what he entitled "The Achievements of the Bards," in which are some poetical pieces of great antiquity, remarkable for the asperity and for the studied difficulty of their numbers. *Rhynnu*, in the Celtic language,

meant to grow stiff, as from the effect of cold or dreadful horror ; and the Runic or Rynnic verses, of which so much has been said, were some of these difficult poetical compositions, deemed impossible to have been achieved by human art, and therefore attributed to the powers of magic. The rapid repetition of them was considered as an incantation, and was supposed to strike those against whom they were directed with stupefaction, or to petrify them with horror. But these extraordinary efforts of the bards, a race of men that dedicated their whole lives to the art of composition, cannot surely be regarded as proofs of the native roughness of the language. It is an evidence of its versatility, and not of its asperity and natural harshness. Though, from its copiousness, it is capable of contending in roughness with the less polished of the Northern tongues, it is calculated also to vie with the Italian, or with any of the most admired Southern languages, in smoothness of sentences and melody of sound ; circumstances which forcibly speak in favour of its musical resources, and its aptitude for poetical compositions. To be able to sink with ease into the lowest and deepest notes, and to rise when necessary to the highest and the most pleasing, is a stronger proof of a musical capacity, than to possess merely skill enough to excel in a treble part. The wonderful extent of the Celtic tongue, and the agreeable variety which it justly boasts, can be known only to those who are well acquainted with it, and who are conversant with the best authors, whose productions have for so many centuries con-

tributed to its melioration and to its renown. The copiousness of the fountain may be known, in some measure, by the number and the profundity of the streams that owe to it their origin.

The Southern tongues are no less derived from the Celtic than the Northern; though the latter, having flowed to a remoter distance from the source, have been more affected by external circumstances, by change of climate, and by the influx of streams from other fountains. That most of the languages of the North were of Celtic origin, and, at no very remote period, were intelligible to the inhabitants of the principality of Wales, is evident from a proclamation of one of the Welsh Princes, who appointed a public session of the Bards, to regulate the laws of poetry and music. To this harmonic convention, or Musical Festival, the Bards of the Isle of Man, of Ireland, of Scotland, and of Scandinavia, were respectively invited. Soon after that period, the Welsh language became fixed. This is manifest from the number of Lexicons and Grammars constantly published in the language by the most learned men of their time, and from the Sacred Scriptures having been translated into Welsh, and from Divine service having been regularly performed in Welsh in the Churches of the Principality, for more than two centuries and a half; and these concurring circumstances have greatly contributed to the stability and the general diffusion of the language. From the earliest dawn of literature, and the invention of printing, Welsh students in the universities of Italy, and in various seminaries of learning on the

Continent, had several works of utility and eminence published in their native tongue, which prevented its fluctuation, and so firmly established it, that no very material alteration has been observed in it for the last four centuries. Some of the other Northern languages have hardly been committed to writing at all, and only an inconsiderable number of books has been printed in any of them till within these two last centuries. Still the identity of the language is discernible to every scholar. Various words in the languages still spoken in Sweden and Norway, correspond with the British. In the Erse and the Irish, the pronunciation is a little different, as the English is among the peasantry in some of the counties of England: in other respects, the language is radically the same, and the inhabitants of the mountains of Wales and Scotland, after the intercourse of a few months, are mutually intelligible. Soldiers of Highland regiments that have settled in the Principality, have been known to acquire the language so completely, that they could not be distinguished from the natives; and some Irish gentlemen have observed that their Welsh servants, when resident in a remote part of Ireland, have attained the knowledge of the Irish tongue in a very short period. The difference, in fact, is very immaterial between the two dialects of the Celtic tongue, and is rather occasioned by the various pronunciations of certain words, the want of frequent communication, the fluctuation of the Irish language, the decay of literature, and the sterility of popular publications, than by any essential discrepancy.

The words, *Ysgybor*, a barn; *Tarw*, a bull; *Ysgadan*, herrings; for example, are the same in both languages: but the Irish place the accent on the last syllable, and the Welsh on the penultima. The celebrated antiquary, Edward Llwyd,* in his "*Archæologia Britannica*," has, from a visionary design to form a system of his own, endeavoured to point out a distinction between the two languages: but it is a distinction without a difference; for the words which he mentions as preserved only in the Irish, are Celtic words still understood in Wales, and not a few of them are used in common conversation in some parts of the country.

The Erse, the common language of the Highlands of Scotland, appears to be less corrupted, and to bear more affinity to the Welsh than the common Irish; as *Craig*, a rock; *Mor*, for *Mawr*, great; *Llong*, a vessel; *Ystraeth*, a plain or vale near the sea. The principal difference is in the mode adopted in the Highlands, of converting the Celtic P into H, as *Hîb*, for *Pîb*, a pipe; or more generally into a C,

* See "*Vindication of the Celts*," 8vo. 1803, published for E. Williams, Strand, p. 144. In a conversation on the subject with a well-informed Irish gentleman, the words in both languages were allowed to be the same; for instance, he called a cock, *ceiliawg*, and a turkey-cock, *ceiliog-twrçi* and *ceiliawg-ffrengig*; both which are used in Welsh: for in that language *Ffrengig* is used for any thing large, as *cnau*, nuts, *cnau ffrengig*, French nuts, or walnuts. More words have been lost in Ireland than in Wales from their want of books. *Cloch*, a bell, is hardly known there at present; but it formerly meant clock. *Cloch Badrig*, Patrick's Bell, is a hill of conical form in the county of Connaught.

as *Cen mawr*, the name of one of the kings of Scotland, for *Pen mawr*, great head ; *Centire* or *Centeri*, for *Pentir*, Land's End ; *Mac* for *Mab*, a son ; *Clan*, an abbreviation of *plant*, children ; as *Clan Mac Leod*, *Plant Mab Lhwyd*, &c. At the revival of Highland literature, had the translators of the New Testament, and other authors who have published books in that language, been versed in the Cambro-British, and had they consulted the Welsh Dictionaries, their works would have been better understood. They would also have exhibited fewer instances of variation from works on the same subjects, which have appeared in the principality of Wales. For want of attention to this circumstance, the Erse translations of the Sacred Scriptures, though well understood in some districts of the Highlands, is almost unintelligible in others. An enlightened and devout clergyman in one of the Western Isles used to declare, that he found that the reading of the Erse Testament to his congregation, was of little service to them, and that, by taking the Greek Testament in his hand, he could deliver an extemporary translation that was better comprehended, and that had a much better effect on them. Of what service to the other portions of England would be a translation of the Old and New Testament, were it to make its appearance in the vernacular dialect of Westmoreland ?

As there were neither books nor manuscripts in the Erse till of late years, the first authors in that language put down the words by rote from the pronunciation of those with whom they conversed.

Let the experiment be tried from the colloquy of an illiterate peasant, in any living language, and it will appear a different dialect, calculated to baffle etymological inquiry, and bid defiance to all criticism. A piece of music taken down from the mouth of a country singer, by an old adept in the science, will assume a very different appearance, and produce a very different effect from the same air in a correct scientific copy. The Erse still boasts of several pieces of composition that are very deservedly admired. The language is extremely beautiful, and it is difficult to write what has been well composed in it, in such a manner that it shall not retain some of its original charms. Every thing in it would be more generally admired, and the language would be less censured by strangers, were compositions of this nature presented to the public eye with less attention to particular dialects, and with more liberal views of contributing to the improvement of the Celtic tongue in general, of removing its corruptions, and of clearing up its obscurities. The ruin of the Gallic tribes was their division among themselves ; and the same error and a similar fatality seem to attend the patrons of their respective dialects. Less narrow-minded jealousy, and more generous efforts towards general knowledge, might render the language a more favourite object of inquiry. They might also materially contribute to develop the antiquities, to elucidate the languages, and to explain the history of Europe.

The language of the Isle of Man does not differ very materially from the Welsh. The Norwegians,

during their residence in the island, left some vestiges of their dialect; in other respects the Manks greatly resembles the Erse. In the course of a late tour through that territory, the names of places were discovered to be similar to those in Wales, as the town of Pyle corresponding with Pyle in Glamorganshire,* &c. The common names of most things appeared to be Welsh, with a very trifling variation. A shepherd employed in raising a turf-fence was asked what he called the spade which he held in his hand; he answered *pheil*, *pál* being the Welsh word, which by mutation becomes *phál*, as *ei phál*, her spade. A literary gentleman in the island, engaged in composing a dictionary of the language, was at a loss to discover the etymology of *Cencote*, their term for Whitsunday, and of *Wilie Nolig*, their phrase for Christmas: he had written to Smith, of Campbell Town, the translator of several pieces from the Erse, and to various other critics in that language, and had obtained no satisfactory answer. It was suggested to him that *Cencote* might be only a corruption of *Pencote*, the *P* being changed into *C*, as is often the case with many of the Celtic words: and *Pencote*, by syncope and the effect of a rapid and careless pronunciation, for *Pentecost*, the proper name for that festival; and that *Wilie Nolig* might be a corruption of *Wiliau*, or *Gwiliau y Nadolig*,† the Welsh

* Douglas Town is from *Dou* or *dú*, black, and *Glás*, dark blue, a name given to the Douglas family, from their dark and black complexion, from whom the town had its name.

† *Nadolig* is derived from the word *geni*, to be born: from which *genedigol*, about to be born, and *genedigolig*, belonging

name for the Christmas Holidays : in the Welsh language *Gwiliau*, by mutation *Wiliau*, implies vigils or holydays ; and *Nadolig*, relating to the Nativity, which by syncope might be easily abbreviated into *Nolig*, the term used in the vernacular language of the Isle of Man. He was struck with the force of these observations, acknowledged his sense of their propriety and pertinence, lamented his ignorance of the language of the Principality, and expressed a wish to be furnished with a dictionary and grammar of that copious dialect of the Celtic. He was persuaded that these appendages would materially contribute to the illustration of the language of his native island. At the conclusion of "Martin's Voyage into the Western Isles," a list is given of Erse words corresponding with the Welsh, and an explanation of the mutation of consonants generally adopted in the northern dialects of the Celtic, which has occasioned the languages of different districts to appear remoter from each other than they really are.

The Cornish dialect is at present nearly extinct. Two manuscripts in this language are still preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and Llwyd in his "Archæologia" has given a Cornish dictionary. He has likewise inserted in the same work a moderately

to what may be about to be born, are formed : *Genedigolig* is by syncope, converted *euphoniæ gratiâ*, into *Gennadolig*, and *genadolig*, by aphæresis into *nadolig*. These mutations are mentioned, because, if properly attended to, they will prove a clue that will, through the labyrinth of modern etymology, lead to the derivation of many northern words that, through ignorance of the Celtic, are often falsely interpreted and erroneously written.

copious dictionary of the Armoric dialect, or the language of Bretagne in France, which, if we except the obtrusion of the letter *z* in lieu of *dd*, and some other trifling variations, can hardly be said to differ from the dialect of the Celtic prevalent in the principality of Wales. The inhabitants of this part of France frequently trade to South Wales for coal, &c., and are able without much difficulty to converse with the natives. They often humorously claim kindred with them, and consider them as the same people with themselves. In the course of the expedition to Belleisle in the year 1759, the Welsh soldiers in the English army were understood by the natives of Britany, and of the neighbouring islets, and on this account experienced several instances of friendship and hospitality. Gascoigne is denominated *Gwâsgwynn* by Welsh writers, which suggests a very plausible etymology; and ancient British historians assert, that most of the army that attended Cassivelaunus to France, consisting of sixty thousand men, settled in *Gwâsgwynn*. The characteristic dialect of the province has now, in a great measure, vanished; or at least it has dwindled into a *patois* of vulgar French, but sufficient vestiges of it remain to prove that it was anciently of Celtic origin. *Languedoc* is a Welsh name, as are many names of families and places in that part of the country. The *Cevennes* mountains in that province evidently derive their appellation from the Celtic word *Cevn*, a back or ridge of hills. Provence retained, till of late years, much of the Welsh or Gallic language, and many of the Celtic customs. The *Troubadours* or *Provençal* and

Spanish bards, like them, courted the sister arts of music and poetry. Among the hills which separate France from Spain, are several remains of Celtic tumuli, and Druidical altars, and in the dialect of the inhabitants may be discovered evident traces of the Celtic language.

But before we pass the Pyrenees,* we may take a short view of France, and offer a few cursory remarks on the vestiges of a Gallic origin, which still distinguish that nation. Many of the words used at present in France, were introduced into that country by the Franks. Many also were left there by the Romans, who resided during a long period in the Gallic provinces; but upwards of one-third, perhaps one-half of the language was bequeathed to them by their ancestors the Gauls. The near affinity it bears to that of the principality of Wales, may be discovered in the following brief specimen of the dialect of both countries :

FRENCH.

Argent, silver,
Baston, now *Baton*, a staff,
Cheval, a horse,
Chevre, a goat,
Corne, a horn,
Corps, a body,
Couronne, a crown,

WELSH.

Arian.
Pastwn, *ei Bastwn*, his staff.
Ceffyl, *ei Cheffyl*, her horse.
Gafyr, or *Gavr*.
Corn.
Corph.
Coron.

* The Pyrenees derive their name from the Celtic words, *pur*, clear, and *né*, sky or air. Dionysius the geographer describes the Celts as dwelling on the Pyrenees, near the source of the river Po, as he expresses it :

Τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Πυρ ῥηναῖον ὄρος κ' ἑωματα Κελτῶν,
 Αἰχμὸς Πηγῶν καλλιῖρος Ἡριανοῖο, &c. v. 288, &c.

FRENCH.

Courir, to run, to wander,
Ecrivain, a writer,
Glaive, a knife or sword,
Lait, milk,
Livre, a book,
Mois, a month,
Moulin, a mill,
Muet, dumb,
Payen, a heathen,
Pelerin, a pilgrim,
Pesée, weighed,
Putain, a courtesan,
Taureau, a bull,

WELSH.

Crwydro.
Ysgriven, a writing.
Glaiv.
Llaeth, by mutation, *Laeth*.
Llyvr, *ei Lyfr*, his book.
Mis.
Melin.
Múd.
Pagan.
Pererin.
Pwysan, weights.
Puttain.
Tarw.

An additional number of words might have been selected, which appear to be nearly the same in both languages, but the advantage in point of harmony and mellowness of sound is universally admitted, by those who are esteemed good judges of the subject, to be decidedly in favour of the Welsh. This may be observed on comparing terms of a similar import, such as

FRENCH.

Merchander, to merchandize,
Faire voile, to sail,
Veiller, to watch,
Benir, to bless,
Un boucle d'argent, a silver
 buckle,
Allez chercher Guillaume pour
veiller cette nuit, send for
 William to watch this night.

WELSH.

Marsianda.
Hwylio.
Gwylio.
Bendittio, *Bendithio*.
Bucl arian.
Hala'n ôl Wil i wylío heno.

In the following example from the divine poems of the celebrated Vicar of Llandovery, written about the year 1600, almost every word is French.

*Sonied marsiand am varsiandu,
 Sonied morwr am yr India,
 A sonied cybydd am ei gist,
 Ond sonied Cristion byth an Grist.**

Of their rich merchandize let merchants boast,
 Let sailors boast of either India's coast,
 Let misers boast the countless sums they hoard,
 Yet let not Christians boast, but of their Lord.

It is impossible in any language to give the force and beauty of the original within the compass of four lines. The French however will admit of almost a literal translation, as, "*Les soins d'un marchand sent de marchander*," &c., but in point of softness and mellifluence of sound, it will not allow of a comparison with the Cambro-British. The French affect to despise every antiquated expression, and to condemn it as *Gaulois*, or Gallic. It appears, however, that the best and most harmonious part of the language is Gallic, and that it has not improved much by the verbal importation from the Franks, nor by the abbreviation of words borrowed from the Latin ;

* This example is selected because the late Rev. E. Evans, author of "*Dissertatio de Bardis*," "Specimen of Welsh Poetry," &c., who certainly must be allowed to have been a good judge of poetic compositions, used to repeat these lines with rapture, and then clench his fist, after his manner, and exclaim, "There is poetry, sir; you will not show me four such artless and yet poetic lines together, in all Pindar, nor indeed in any of your bards, nor in any of your boasted Grecian authors." It is extraordinary that the Vicar of Llandoverly, the Rev. Rees Prichard, M.A., should not be mentioned in the Cambrian Biography. No book has ever been so popular as the Vicar's poems: every peasant in Wales has them by heart. They were translated into English about the year 1776, but the adoption of the quaint title prefixed to them in Oliver Cromwell's time spoiled the sale.

and in fact that the stock of words left them for their portion by their Celtic ancestors, forms the most valuable part of their philological stores. Voltaire did as much injury to the language as to the morals of the country ; though who denies that he was a man of genius? The absurd practice of writing every word as it is pronounced has obscured the etymology, and barbarized the sound of half the language. It has given the words borrowed from the Latin and other numerous languages a minced curtailed form, resembling the broken imperfect speech of French children in the last age. It is difficult for this reason to trace at present the derivation of many words—*mouton*, for instance, was anciently written *moulton*, a sheep, which is evidently a diminutive from the Celtic term *moult*, or *mollt*, a sheep or *weather*. *Gwilym* in one of his poems has

“ *O groen mollt i grino mys.*”

Nor shame my fingers with a sheep-skin glove.

Notwithstanding, however, these modern revolutions in orthography, manifest marks of the effects of a Celtic descent may still be observed in the *patois* of every province, especially towards the Pyrenees and the Cevennes Mountains. Many of these provinces retain the Gallic language, particularly on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees where the Celtiberians once resided. The common tongue of Galicia and of Biscay is, in a great measure, Celtic ; and whatever difference of dialect may seemingly prevail in those districts is more occasioned by ignorance, and by a corrupt vicious pronunciation, than by the admixture of any foreign dialect. The Spanish language itself

is, to a considerable extent, Celtic; a few words in it are derived from the Arabic, a great number from the Latin, and nearly all the remainder from the Celtic. The same may be observed of the Portuguese, except that there is less admixture of Moorish and Arabic words in the language of Portugal. The following short specimen may serve to demonstrate the similarity which the modern Spanish bears to the ancient Celtic, and the manifest superiority of the latter, in point of melody of sound :

SPANISH.

Acea, hither,
Cavallo, a horse,
Escala, a ladder,
Estrada, a street,
Estudar, to study,
Espiga, an ear of corn,
Guaye, woe,
Ladron, a thief,
Llena, filling,
Llamar, to call aloud,
Luvia, rain,
Lludio, to rain,
Nocke, night,
Pala, a spade,
Pared, a wall,
Peccador, a sinner,
Pella, a ball,
Pescador, a fisherman,
Quescar, to make cheese,
Rueda, a wheel,
Trehan, a buffoon,
Estender cas velas, to spread sails,
Pella a la pared, the ball to the wall,
La noche es cupa de peccadores, the
 night is the cloak of sinners,

WELSH.

Accw.
Ceffylau, horses.
Ysgol.
Ystradau.
Astudio.
Ysbigau, sheaves.
Gwae.
Ladron, thieves.
Llanw, to fill.
Llavaru, to speak aloud.
Glawio, to rain.
Nós.
Paluu, spades.
Pared.
Pechadur.
Pelau, balls.
Pysgodwyr, fishermen.
Cawsu, to turn to cheese.
Rhodau, wheels.
Truan, a poor fellow.
Ystynu'r hwyliu.
Pelau at y pared.
Y nós wisg gopa pechadu-
riaid.

From these examples it is evident that the Spanish bears a close resemblance to the ancient Celtic, and that it still retains the Celtic sound of the Ll, which is not now preserved in any other European language, except in the Welsh and the Italian.* The similarity is very striking in several other respects between the Spanish and the Welsh; and no cultivated modern tongue retains so many Celtic terms, or so much of the Celtic style and manner, if we except perhaps the Italian. There exists a closer affinity between the metrical compositions of Spain and of ancient Britain, than between those of the principality and those of any other nation, we must except the productions of the Italian muse. The species of poetry called romance among the Spaniards is not dissimilar to the style adopted in the Pennillion and the most popular metres current among the inhabitants of Wales. Some of the Vicar of Llandoverly's poems, though on sacred subjects, are precisely in the Spanish style, as the celebrated song on the nativity—

*Awn i Veth'lem, bawb dan gánu,
Neidio, dawnzio, a divyrru, &c.
Awn bob Cristion i gyflwyno,
Ac i roddi golwg arno, &c.*

To Bethlem's precincts let us throng
With sacred joy, and dance, and song,
To see the Saviour of the earth,
To whom this happy morn gave birth.
Thither their hearts, let Christians bring,
As offerings to their Heavenly King, &c.

In traversing the coast from the Spanish territories towards the confines of Italy, many places and

* In the Welsh Ll; in the Italian Gl.

many objects present themselves, which recall to the mind exploits of former ages. They exhibit vestiges of the residence of the Celts, or the Celtiberi, in Spain, and in the south of France, and of their power, and their customs and language. The etymology of several places in these provinces has long puzzled geographers. The name of the people called Arveri has not been satisfactorily accounted for, but the Celtic offers a ready explication in *Ar werni*, the tribes inhabiting the swamps or marshy grounds. The appellation of the River Rhone has been supposed to be derived from a Greek word implying agitation. A Greek colony it is true once settled at Marseilles, but is it probable that they should give name to a river, the source of which was at so great a distance from them, “which pursued the tenor of its way” through so many nations, and which most probably had received its denomination long before it reached their vicinity? And does not the derivation itself, of Rhone from *ῥοδαίζω*, appear forced and unnatural? Does it not seem more probable from its rapidity in some places, and its meandering course and circling eddies in others, that it was denominated Rhoden or Rhodanus—the circling river, especially when it is recollected that a town called Rhodau, or the meanders, in Latin Rhoda, is mentioned by Pliny,* as having been built on its banks? Very lofty mountains as those of Scotland, were called Alban by the Celts, from *ban*, a hill, and *al*, very high, or elevated. The Alps (from Alban or Alt pen) probably derive their name from this

* See Pliny's Natural History, Book iii. chap. 4.

source, as the Appenine* hills may from the Gallic word pen, a head, or the summit of a mountain. But with respect to the names of places in this part of Europe, derived from the Celtic, Pezron is very plausibly ingenious, and what may have escaped his laborious investigations may be discovered among the fruits of our own countryman Baxter's researches. Many of their derivations, however, may be only the productions of a warm imagination; for what so uncertain as etymological conjectures? The extent of the Celtic possessions in these districts, and the long residence of the Celts in them, give to these radical explanations more consistency and verisimilitude. The descent of much of the language of these parts from the Celtic, though like the Rhone it may have been enriched by other streams in its course, appears to be a very probable and rational conjecture. That the observation has not often been made is, because the ancient British is not so much studied, or so well understood, as from its copiousness and its beauties it appears amply to deserve. A considerable portion of the languages of the southern parts of Europe, may be more immediately derived from the Latin, which, whether descended from the Celtic or not, is a matter of dispute. We have the testimony of the best Latin authors themselves, that a considerable share of their vocabulary is of Celtic or Gallic origin. Bardus is mentioned by Lucan as taken from the *bardd* or *bard* of the Celts; *basgauda*, a basket, is acknowledged by Martial to be borrowed from the British.

* Y Penwyn, or white head, or top.

“ *Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis
Sed jam mavult dicere Roma suam.*”

Baskets were first in happier Britain found,
But vain Rome claims what naked Britons own'd.

Essedum, a chaise, from *eisedd*, now pronounced *eistedd*, to sit, is considered both by Cæsar and Virgil as a Gallic or Belgic term :

“ *Belgica ————— feret esseda collo.*”

And bear the Belgic chariot on his neck.

Caballus, from *ceffyl*, a horse—carrus, from the Welsh *carr*, a car—covinus, a waggon, from *cowain*, to carry as in a waggon—cerevisia, from *cwrw*, ale—Druides, from *Derwyddes*, Druids, (mentioned by Cæsar and Pliny, and several others) and rheda, a swift travelling chariot, from *rhéd* or *rhedeg*, to run, are words universally acknowledged to be of Celtic origin. It is a circumstance well known to those who are in the least acquainted with the Latin classics, that the catalogue of Latin words derived from the Celtic might be considerably augmented. These words, and many more occasionally introduced by Roman authors, are still used in the language of the principality of Wales, precisely in the sense in which they were applied in the days of Julius Cæsar, a proof that the language has continued at least eighteen centuries without any visible alteration; and as there are no records of profane history that go back above eight or nine hundred years further, and as nothing occurs in them that tends to controvert the account which the Celts generally gave of their origin, it may be fairly presumed that their history is founded on truth, and that their language is at least of as great antiquity as any European

language. Certainly that can be considered as no other than a copious source which could enrich the Latin language, and give birth to almost all the languages of Europe. The Cimbri* at an early period were a very powerful Celtic tribe, and in the time of Metullus and Marius they overran nearly all Italy. In a still remoter age the Gauls endangered Rome. At that period one of their principal leaders was Brân, or Brennus, a name still not uncommon in the principality of Wales, as Glan Brân, &c. It is frequently mentioned in the historical collections of the country.

In the time of Tacitus, the Cimbri, the Longobardi, the Bori, the Borcini, &c. and the other Celtic and Gallic tribes occupied a considerable part of Germany. It is not improbable, therefore, that most of the languages of the north were derived from the same source, and had flowed for a long period in the same channel, till by diverging to the regions of the north, and traversing a different climate, at a remote distance from its rise, the tongue in process of time was vitiated, and the manners of the people who spoke it became varied and estranged. Bronkornius was so fully convinced that many words in the Dutch language were derived from a Celtic source, that he some years since published in Holland a quarto edition of Dr. Davies's Welsh and Latin Dictionary, intending, had he lived, to investigate Gallic antiquities, and hoping to create a taste for Druidical researches. Dr. Johnson was so fully persuaded that a consider-

* Eundem Germaniæ situm proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens, veterisque famæ late vestigia manent, &c. *Tacitus De Moribus Germanorum.*

able portion of the English language is derived from the Celtic, that prior to that great literary enterprize, the compilation of his English Dictionary, he resolved to acquire a competent knowledge of the Welsh language. He was so far master of it, that during his tour through North Wales, when a person hesitated and blundered in attempting to translate a Welsh epitaph to him, the Doctor, observing his confusion, said in a tone of unwonted mildness—"Yes, sir, I perceive clearly what you would say," and himself gave a correct and elegant version of it.

What has been affirmed of the English and the Dutch is applicable to the Saxon and the German; much of their vocabulary is of Gallic origin, and many of their customs betray a Celtic connection. The Teutonic dialects may be remoter than most of the southern languages from the common Celtic source, while so long exposed to the cold regions of the north. They may have received some external impressions, which have given them a different appearance, but the nature of the stream is the same, and its qualities are not dissimilar. Whoever, that is at all conversant with the ancient British language, carefully examines the Gothic Gospel, or any book written in the languages derived from the Gothic, will be surprised at the number of Celtic words that perpetually occur,* and will be convinced of the truth

* As a proof that many words in the Gothic Gospel are of Celtic origin, let any person, conversant with both languages, consult Junius's Glossary at the end of the Gothic Gospels, and he will be convinced of the truth of this observation.

The Russian language has several Celtic words; and many names of men and places bear a striking resemblance to the Welsh.

of Tacitus's assertion, whatever some modern system-mongers may have dreamed to the contrary, that the Goths were of Gallic origin; "*Gothnios Gallica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos.*" But the lively Gallic stream seems frozen in its course; the words no longer terminate in vowels; no vocalic terminations distinguish either the plural number of nouns, or the infinitive mood of verbs. Every word is abbreviated and divested of all ornament, and neither in their inflections, nor in their usual grammatical variations, do they admit of any harmonious modulation. Nothing but what bare necessity requires is attended to. It is no more the language of men basking in the sunshine of plenty, indulging in luxury, and amusing themselves with the harmony of numbers and the melody of sweet sounds. It is the dialect of men impelled by their enemies to wander over the dreary forests of the north, where, fatigued with the labours of the chase, and harassed by the vicissitudes of war, they find it difficult to provide themselves with the simplest articles of subsistence; and where, being constantly occupied, they seldom speak, except as imperious necessity demands, and then concisely, and in the roughest and most uncultivated manner. The body of the language in point of substance is still the same. Its rougher dress, and its total neglect of all ornament, certainly render its appearance different; still its prominent features betoken its Celtic origin, and its alliance to that which is found in request among the dif-

A Russian prince, nearly related to the Emperor, was called Ivan; and one of the admirals in favour with the Empress Catherine II. was Taliezin.

ferent Gallic tribes. It was late before the Gothic, the Teutonic, and all the languages derived from them, were committed to writing. Had they been systematically studied and correctly written at an earlier period, the dissimilarity between them and the Celtic would have been less perceptible, and the difficulties attending the investigation of their origin would have been less considerable.

The Saxons, on their arrival in Britain in the sixth century, were totally ignorant of letters. They acquired in process of time much of the learning, as well as most of the possessions, of the Britons; and the alphabet which they adopted was that anciently in use among the Welsh, and still preserved among the Irish; most manuscripts of the Welsh, till the invention of printing, being written in what has been very erroneously called the Saxon character.*

In descending from the forests of the north towards the mountains of Thrace and Thessaly, many vestiges of the Celtic language are discernible, as the *bastarnæ*, from *bâdsarnau*; *oescus*, from *wysg*, water; *toui*, from *tovi* or *towi*, the name of a Celtic or British river. Pella, a town on the extreme point of Macedonia on the bay of Thessalonica, from *pella*, furthest. Rhæsus, mentioned by Homer as a Thracian prince who had marched to the aid of the Trojans, seems to have been a prince of the Celtic name of Rhÿs:

* See Ed. Llwyd's *Archaiologia Britannica* on this subject. An ancient copy of Ovid's works in Latin, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, has an explanation of the difficult words in Welsh written in this character. An old Welsh manuscript, called the Red Book of Hergest, is also partly written in this character.

Troy itself is derived from *troi*, to turn, or from *tro*, a turn. It is worthy of remark that the shepherds on the mountains of Wales still form, with their knives on the turf, a representation of the streets of Troy, full of windings and various turns.* The names of many places in Thessaly and Greece are of Celtic or Gallic origin. Some Grecian tribes were anciently called *Gallo-Græci*. The Greek language seems either to be a derivative from the Celtic, or to have sprung originally from the same stock. A list of Greek words, bearing a near affinity to the Welsh, may be seen at the end of the “Vindication of the Celts;” the list, however, might have been considerably enlarged. There is an extraordinary circumstance relative to the derivation of several Greek words, for which, if the language be not a dialect of the Celtic, it will be difficult to account. Most of the Greek primitives correspond with words of a similar sound, and of the same import in the Celtic language. The Greek language admits of no further derivation, while the radix may always be found in the Celtic; for instance, ὕδωρ, water; Celtic, *y dwr*, the water. In the Celtic it is derived from *dwfyr*, by syncope *dŵr*; in Owen’s Dictionary, † *dwfr* is said to be derived from *dwf*, to glide; whence is formed *dwfyr*, the glider, or the gliding element: but in Greek, ὕδωρ has no certain radix. *Βραχίαις*, an arm, seems to be derived from the Celtic, *braich*, an arm, which Mr. Owen derives from *bar*, a branch; *baruwch*, a high branch; plur.

* See Cambrian Popular Antiquities, 8vo. p. 212.

† The valuable Dictionary of the late accomplished and much respected Dr. W. O. Pugh.—*Editor*.

breichiau, branches, or arms; γαργαλίσω, to tickle, corrupted from the Celtic, *i'gogleisio*, to tickle, which is derived from the root, *clais*, a bruise; *cleisio*, to handle roughly, to bruise, to leave a mark; *ogleisio*, in construction *gogleisio*, to handle gently, to tickle. Ἐχθες, *heri*, yesterday, the day before yesterday, the time, from the Celtic, *echdoe*, the day before yesterday, which is derived from *ech* or *uwch*, prior to, and *doe*, yesterday; and *doe* is formed from *do*, it is past, it is *done*. Πῦρ, fire, from the Celtic, *púr*, an epithet of fire; as, *púr dân*, or *tân púr*, an intense fire, from *puro*, to purify. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the Greek words that appear to correspond in their import, as well as in their sound, with those in the Celtic language. The Gallic student, in perusing the Greek primitives, finds his memory assisted by recollecting the meaning of words that bear the greatest resemblance to them in his own language, and is surprised to discover that they can be traced no further in the Greek, and that the root is almost always to be found in the Celtic.

Etymologies may sometimes be uncertain, and may at other times be pursued beyond the verge of probability; but the analogy between the Greek primitives, and their *radices* in the Celtic, appears so natural, and is so well connected, that it recalls to mind the remarks of ancient historians relative to the *Gallo-Græci* in Europe, and the *Gallati* in Asia Minor. Nor are the remarks new that have been made in the preceding pages relative to the beauties of the Welsh language; its softness having been demonstrated to be not inferior to that of the Italian, and its comprehensive energy to be no less vigorous than that of the Greek. The au-

thor of the "Letters from Snowdon" observes of the ancient British language, that "notwithstanding the multiplicity of gutturals and consonants with which it abounds, it has the softness and harmony of the Italian, with the majesty and expression of the Greek." The prejudice that has unaccountably prevailed, relative to the number of gutturals and the multiplicity of consonants, it is presumed, has been removed by the observations in the foregoing pages. The justness of the other remarks of the author of the "Letters," with regard to the energy and harmony of the language, is evident from the concurrent testimony of all scholars conversant with other languages, and not ignorant of that of the principality of Wales.

From this cursory view of the history, the topography, and the various dialects of Europe, it would appear probable that the Celts, the Gauls, the Longobardi, the Cimbri, and the other Celtic tribes, under different denominations, at some remote period overran almost all Europe. The Greeks call the Cimbri, *Κιμμέριοι*, and the Welsh still distinguish themselves by the name of Cymry. In construction the initials of words are known to be mutable, as, *i Gymry*, a word which Pezron and some other etymologists derive from Gomer the son of Japhet. They contend that he was the father of *Holl Gymry*, or all the Cimbri; and that the Cimbri were divided, in process of time, into different sects and tribes, using the same language, but, for want of intercourse, varying considerably in its dialects.

Whatever truth there may be in this hypothesis, it is remarkable that the *radix* of most words in every

European language may be found in the Welsh ; while, though a considerable similarity subsists between it and the Hebrew, the roots of no Hebraic words are to be found in it ; but the roots of most of the ancient British, or real Welsh words, may be regularly traced in the Hebrew. This may be instanced in the few following examples :

WELSH.		HEBREW.
<i>Ysu</i> , to burn,	}	אש, fire.
<i>Tân ysol</i> , consuming fire,		
<i>Mam</i> , a mother,		אם, a mother.
<i>Pori, i bori</i> , to graze,		בער, to graze.
<i>Iwbwb</i> , a cry of distress,		יבב, to cry aloud.
<i>Bara</i> , bread,		ברה, pure wheat.
<i>Dodi</i> , to place, to thrust,		דר, to thrust forward.
<i>Chwalu</i> , to pierce after, to bruise,		תל, to pierce.
<i>Cesail</i> , the armpit,		כסל, the flank.
<i>Neges</i> , a business, a task,		נגש, a task-master.
<i>Sidan</i> , silk,		סדיו, loose dresses.
<i>Obru</i> , below,		עבר, beyond.
<i>Palu</i> , to separate the earth, to dig,	}	פלה, to separate.
<i>Pared</i> , a partition,		
<i>Yspio</i> , to overlook a prospect,		צפה, to overlook, to view.
<i>Saer</i> , a carpenter,		יער, to form, to fashion.

To augment this catalogue would be an easy task. Scarcely a Hebrew root can be discovered that has not its corresponding derivative in the ancient British language. A list of these words would be too uninteresting ; many of them may be found in Rowlands's " *Mona Antiqua*," in Dr. Davies's " *Welsh and Latin Dictionary*," in Richard's " *Welsh and English Dictionary*," published at Bristol about the year 1750, and in several other philological works ; in which

the affinity the Welsh bears to the Hebrew language is strenuously maintained; but not only do the words themselves indicate that similarity between the two; their variations and inflections afford a much stronger proof of affinity. In the Celtic, as well as in the Hebrew, the cases and gender of nouns are distinguished by affixes and prefixes, as פֶּה, a head; פָּנִי, my head; Celtic, *pen*, a head; *pen i*, or *mhen i*, my head; שַׁק, a sack; שָׁקִי, my sack; שָׁקוֹ, his sack; Celtic, *sach*, a sack; *sachi*, or *vy sach i*, my sack; *ei sach o*, his sack, &c. The Welsh, like the Hebrew, often distinguishes the genders by a change of the prefixes, as Hebrew, הֵנוּ, a portion, Welsh, *toccyn*; *ei thoccyn*, her proportion; *ei doccyn*, his proportion, &c. The plural number of nouns likewise is often formed in a similar manner in the Celtic, by adding *in* (a contraction of הֵן) to the singular, as, *deri*, oaks; *cewri*, giants, &c. In the formation of the different tenses and conjugations of verbs, the same similarity is still observable. The Welsh, in conformity with its prototype, the Hebrew, has no present tense. So rapid is the progress of time, that the moment which was represented as future, may often be regarded as past, while we are yet speaking of it. It is remarkable that at the commencement of the Apostles' Creed, in the Celtic or Welsh language, the future tense is used instead of the present, "*Credaf yn Nuw, Dad, &c.*" *I will* believe in God the Father. When absolute necessity requires that the present tense should be used, it is not unusual to have recourse to a circumlocution, and to introduce the auxiliary verb, *yr wyf*, I am; *yr*

wyf fi yn credu, yr wyt ti yn credu, I am in believing, thou art in believing, or in the act of believing. The paragogic syllable *wn*, as in Hebrew and the oriental languages, is frequently added to words in Welsh, to convey an idea of intenseness or energy, as *caru*, to love; *carwn*, I would love ardently. To form passive verbs the letter *n* is likewise prefixed to the active, as *curo*, to beat; *fenghurwyd*, I was beaten. The conjugation *hithpahel* or *etpol*, as it is denominated by some grammarians, though represented by many critics as peculiar to the Hebrew, is likewise used in the ancient British, and is formed in a similar manner by prefixing a syllable to the theme of the verb, as, *golchi*, to wash; *ymolchi*, to wash one's self, to bathe; *blino*, to vex; *ymflino*, to vex one's self; the prefixed syllable communicating to the verb a reflective force, not dissimilar to the middle voice of the Greeks. In the formation of sentences, and in the government of words, in the agreement of the adjective with the substantive, in the precedence of the latter, in the usual exceptions to this rule, and in verbs plural being governed by nominatives singular, the Welsh so exactly corresponds with the Hebrew, that the same syntax might serve for both. From these circumstances, and from the general affinity observed to subsist between the two languages, the sacred Scriptures appear with greater felicity and with more unaffected beauty in the Welsh than in any modern translation. The similarity to the original is so remarkable, that the Hebrew idioms are without violence retained in the ancient British version. In the passage in Gen. ii. 17, rendered in English "thou shalt surely die,"

the Welsh preserves the oriental idiom, "dying, thou shalt die." In all other instances, the eastern phraseology appears with all its native ease and elegance in the Celtic dress, as in Gen. vii. 13. The Hebrew phrase, "within the body of that day," is in Welsh literally rendered, "*o fewn corph y dydd hwnw*;" the English idiom not admitting of this beauty, the words have been translated, "in the self same day." In 1 Kings xiv. 5. where the wife of King Jeroboam is represented as disguising herself, the Welsh having recourse, like the Hebrew, to a reciprocal or reflective verb, not dissimilar in sound to the original, uses only one word, "*hiaymddieithra*;" to express this, the English version is under the necessity of expending seven or eight words, "and she shall feign herself to be another woman." To enumerate all the beauties of the ancient British version, would be an almost impracticable task, and the appearance of "Walter's Essay on the Welsh language," in which many of them are very happily displayed, has rendered it in a great measure unnecessary. From the affinity of the languages, the closeness of the translation, and the number of manuscript copies consulted in the course of the work, the ancient British or Welsh version may well be esteemed by far the most valuable that has appeared in any European language. It might be advantageously consulted by the biblical critic, even when access may be had to the Arabic, to the Syriac, and to the other oriental versions. As the idioms of the original are all preserved, the translation, though literal, appears easy and unconstrained. It often displays great felicity, and exhibits many apparent

vestiges, many marks of considerable labour and intense application. It seems faithful and even elegant, but differs not unfrequently, on less momentous occasions, from most modern versions. It throws a light on many obscure passages, which the faint lustre of other translations has left as abstruse as ever. It is a western luminary—a splendid evening star, which, though late in its appearance, illumines the hemisphere that has been deserted by more glaring lights—it still shines with radiance, and may be approached without danger, while its friendly aid might be employed without the apprehension of its leading the enquirer after truth astray. It derives its splendour from the original, and reflects back that splendour with peculiar grace. It must consequently be a better medium through which to view obscure passages, than dead languages now rarely spoken, and but imperfectly understood.

In “Ames’ History of Printing,” owing to ignorance of the language, a remark is injudiciously made, which, if true, might tend much to the discredit of the Welsh translation of the sacred Scriptures. In the first folio edition of the Welsh Bible, published in Queen Elizabeth’s reign, 1588, the expression, Rev. v. 8, “having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours,” is rendered “*a chan bob un o honynt yr oedd telynnau a chrythau aur, yn llawn o arogl darth* ;” as “*crwth*,” in the plural “*crythau*,” often in Welsh implies a crowd or ancient violin. It is satirically insinuated by Ames, in a note, that the translators of the Welsh Bible were incapable of rendering it immediately from the original, but that the translation was effected through

the medium of the English version, and that the word "vial" being mistaken for "viols," the Cambro British critics rendered it at once "*crythau*," or violins. Dr. Llewelyn, in his elaborate "Essay on the different Editions of the Welsh Bible," very feebly endeavours to repel the force of this sally, by representing "*crythau*" as a typographical error, and discovers much skill in attempting to show how naturally the compositor might have been led into such a mistake. Had Llewelyn been a profounder critic in his own language, he might with less ingenuity have discovered a more satisfactory apology for the translators of the Welsh Bible. In the first volume of "Warton's History of English Poetry," the note inserted in "Ames' History of Printing" is copied *verbatim*. It appeared too curious an anecdote to be omitted by the facetious laureate, but, willing to represent himself as a man of extensive erudition, he wished to have the credit of being deeply versed in the Celtic language; and, therefore he took care not to mention the source from which he drew his observation, but passed the information on his readers as his own. His ignorance of the language however marred the whole plot. For Ames, in his note, having erroneously written the word "*crythan*" instead of "*crythau*," Tom Warton, though he did not quote his author, in copying the note, copied likewise the literal error. The laugh he has attempted to excite will, therefore, be found to be raised only against himself. Had the witty attempt proved ever so successful, its effects could not long have prevailed; for when the laugh had subsided, and the voice of truth was permitted to be

heard, no vestige, either of inaccuracy or of ignorance of the original, could be justly imputed to the translators. It is not unknown to any Welsh scholar, that "*crwth*," in its primary acceptation, implies any thing concave on one side and convex on the other; and as it is not decided what were the precise forms of the "vials," which St. John describes, "*crythau*" was considered as the most unexceptionable translation, because it implied any vessels of a concave form. The feminine of "*crwth*" is used in various acceptations, as "*croth y goes*," the calf of the leg, from its concavity; "*crôth*," the womb, &c.; "*crwth*," the masculine derivative, is still more extensively construed, as "*crwth*," a musical instrument; "*cefn crwth*," a ridge of hills; "*crwth pysgota*," a small fishing vessel. In "Henry Salisbury's Welsh and English Dictionary," edited in Henry 8th's time, a saltbox is rendered, "*crwth halen*;" the translators of the Welsh Bible most probably consulted Salisbury's Dictionary, and "*crythau*" appeared to them the most correct version which they could give of the original.

To those who are profoundly skilled in the Celtic language, the translation will not appear incorrect; for the radical word, "*crwth*," will undoubtedly convey the idea intended in the original expression, *φιαλαι*. One of the translators of the Welsh Bible was the celebrated Dr. Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, who was so eminently versed in the ancient British language, that in his youth he contended for the poetical prize with the Welsh bards; and some stanzas on the prize subject, "The Nightingale," produced by him at an Eisteddfod or

Bardic Synod, were thought to equal any of the compositions of the most esteemed writers. He was so conversant with Greek, and so much distinguished by his knowledge of the oriental languages, that Queen Elizabeth engaged him to assist in the English version of the Bible.

Another of the authors of the Welsh version was Dr. William Morgan, bishop successively of Llandaff and of St. Asaph, a man, for his extensive erudition and critical skill in the oriental languages, caressed by all the literati of the time. When vicar of Llanrhaidyr Mochnant, his talents attracted the attention of Dr. Goodman, then prebendary of Westminster, who invited him to pass a few months with him at his house in London. During his visit Dr. Morgan took an opportunity of shewing his friend and patron a translation of the Pentateuch, which he had attempted in the country. It was critically examined by competent judges, and, when satisfied of its merits, Dr. Goodman had it presented by some of his literary friends to the Bishop of London. The circumstance was at length mentioned to Queen Elizabeth, who rewarded his merit—for in those days the meritorious were seldom overlooked—with a bishopric. The patronage of the Queen, Dr. Morgan's labours, and the assistance of his learned friends, effected in process of time that wonder of Celtic literature, the elegant Welsh version of the sacred Scriptures. Against men so highly distinguished in the ranks of literature, the shafts of ridicule are aimed in vain; they will only fall on the heads of the rash assailants. Dr. John Davies, the author of the Welsh and Latin

Dictionary, is said to have assisted in the correction of this edition of the Welsh Bible. The word "*crythau*" could not therefore have crept through error into the translation, but must have been selected as the most correct representation of the original, which is evident from the circumstance of its having been rendered "*phialau*," in the first translation of the New Testament, by the learned and patriotic brothers, William and Henry Salisbury. But Dr. Morgan and his coadjutors apparently thought this rather an adoption of the original term than a translation.* Bishop Parry, considering the word "*crythau*" to be as liable to misconstruction, and as not familiarly known to the vulgar in its primary signification, how well soever the literati, and the readers of the works of the bards, might be acquainted with its radical import, determined to alter the translation in the edition of the Welsh Bible published in the reign of King James I., and accordingly he restored the word "*phialau*," as more nearly allied to the Greek *φιαλαι*, and more generally understood by the inhabitants of the principality. The error, therefore, was not in the translators of the Welsh Bible, but in the misconception of some absurd critic, who communicated the observation to Ames, to be inserted in his "History of Printing." From that work it was copied without inquiry, and thus it was very undeservedly honoured with a place in the first volume of "Warton's History of English Poetry."

* See Dr. Llewelyn's Dissertation and Tracts, &c.

AN INQUIRY

INTO THE SITUATION OF THE GOLD MINES OF THE
ANCIENT BRITONS.

FREQUENT mention is made in the works of the most ancient and most celebrated of the British bards, of the *torques*, or golden wreath, worn in the day of battle round the neck of their chieftains, as an ensign of authority, a badge of honour, and a mark of noble descent. Aneurin, in his epic poem, written in the sixth century of the Christian era, on the unfortunate battle of Catteraeth, describes the march of three hundred and sixty-three British leaders to the field, all ornamented with the golden torques :

*Gwyr aeth Gatteraeth buant crevawd,
Gwŷn a meddaur fu eu gwirawd,
Blwyddyn yn erbyn wrdyn ddynwd
Try wyr a thriugait a thrichant eurdorchawd.*
Gododin.

Which has been thus translated by Mr. Gray :—

To Catteraeth's vale, in glitt'ring row,
Twice two hundred warriors go ;
Ev'ry warrior's manly neck
Chains of regal honours deck,
Wreath'd in many a golden link,
From the golden cup they drink, &c.
Gray's Poems

Lomarchus Senex, or Llywarch Hên, prince of the Cambrian Britons, in his elegies, written about the year 560, on the loss of his sons, and of his regal dignity, asserts, that he had four-and-twenty sons, ornamented with the golden chain.

*Pedwar mab arugaint a'm bu,
Eurdorchawg tywysawg Llú,
Oedd Gwên gorau'd naddu.*

Four-and-twenty sons I have had
Wearing the golden chain, leaders of armies;
Gwên was the best of them.

Llywarch Hên's Elegies, p. 134.

Golden cups, and horns tipped with gold, were often used at the warriors' feasts, to circulate the juice of the grape, and the cheerful mead.

Gwîn o rudd-aur fu eu gwirawd, &c. &c.

From the golden cup they drink
Nectar that the bees produce,
And the grape's ecstatic juice.

Gray's Poems.

*Y corn a'th roddes di Urien,
A'r arwest aur am ei én,
Chwyth ynddo os daw angen.*

The horn given to thee by Urien,
With the wreath of gold round its rim,
Blow in it, if thou art in danger.

Llywarch Hên's Elegies, p. 128.

Dywallaw di'r corn argynfelyn.

Pour out the horn with the glittering yellow top.

Owen Cyfeiliog, Prince of Powys.

The warriors' garments were frequently trimmed with gold.

Gosgordd fynyddawg euraug ynrhaid. Gododin.

The men of Mynyddawg, whose garments in the conflict,
all glittered with gold.

*Hybarch yw mab y marchog,
Yn aur yn arian golerog.* Torchog.

The knight's brave offspring gold and silver deck,
The golden torques ornaments his neck;
Honour and Fame attend on all his days;
On all his words, on all his actions, praise.

Golden spurs were very usually worn by the ancient British commanders.

*Tra vum i yn oed y gwds draw
A wisg o aur ei ottoyw.
Byddai re y rhuthrun y wayw.*

Whilst I was at the age of yonder youth,
That wears the golden spurs,
It was with velocity I pushed the spear.

Owen's Llywarch Hén, p. 130.

Shields and armour ornamented with gold, are frequently mentioned by the British bards:

Llewychedig aur ar fy nghylchwys.
Gwalchmai.

Bright glitters the gold on my round shield.

Even shields fabricated of solid gold were not uncommon:

*Eilwaith gwelais gwedy gweithien,
Aur ysgwyd ar ysgwydd Urien,
Bu ail yno Elgno hen.*

A second time I saw, after that conflict,
A golden shield on the shoulder of Urien,
There again befel the fate of old Elgno.

Owen's Llywarch Hén, p. 36.

It was a rule invariably observed, by the superior orders of the British bards, never to admit any thing but truth into their compositions, and to leave fiction to embellish the feeble productions of the minor poets. The testimony, therefore, of these celebrated authors might be considered as sufficient to prove the opulence of the ancient Britons, if the possession of the precious metals may be considered as constituting wealth ; and their testimony is corroborated by the suffrages of the British historians, and by the evidence of the most distinguished Roman writers. The Roman generals imposed an oppressive annual tribute on the Britons, which was for some time regularly paid by King Cynobelinus and his successors, in gold coin of no inconsiderable value. Prefixed to Bishop Gibson's edition of Cambden's *Britannia* is a table of ancient coins, found at various periods in different parts of the island. Among others, a specimen is given of Cynobelinus' pieces of gold, with his head in bass-relief on one side, and the inscription Cynbelyn, or Cynobelinus, in very legible characters ; and on the reverse, the word *Tascio*, or taxing, in allusion to the occasion on which the coin had been struck.

Cæsar, indeed, from uncertain authority, states that the inhabitants of the British isles made use only of brass money, and iron rings ; but it may be conjectured how imperfect the information was which he received respecting the island, when he was induced to believe that the maritime counties produced only iron, while some of the inland provinces afforded tin. "*Fert Britannia aurum, et argentum, et alia*

metalla."* Britain produces gold, silver, and other metals, are the words of Tacitus, in whose days the country was better known, and the customs and manners of the inhabitants were more perfectly understood. The Roman historian is countenanced in his observation, as well by the most distinguished literary characters of his own nation, as by the most celebrated British illustrators of the history and antiquities of their country. The light derived from these constellations of British and Roman literature may serve to display the splendour of the dress, and the glitter of the golden ornaments, worn by the original inhabitants of the island; but whether it may prove sufficient to lead to the discovery of the sources from which their riches were obtained, is a point that requires closer inquiry and profounder investigation. In proportion as the object of inquiry is valuable, will the investigation be deemed interesting, and the information that has been collected useful and important. From the authorities already cited, it seems to be a fact incontrovertibly established, however extraordinary and improbable it may appear to some persons, that gold was found in great profusion among the ancient inhabitants of Britain; and had we not the testimony of Tacitus and others to prove that the country could at that period boast of its *gold* and silver mines, the appearance of those metals, in no unfrequent use among the inhabitants, would of itself amount to a presumptive proof, that they were derived from internal sources. For it is not

* Life of Agricola, chap. 12.

probable, from the state of society in that age, that commerce had made any considerable progress among them, or that they had any valuable commodities to give in exchange for the precious metals, or any regular method of obtaining them from foreign countries.

It naturally becomes, therefore, an interesting question, in what part of the island the mines of the ancient Britons were situated? or where lay the sources from which they derived their golden stores? Cattræth, the ensanguined ground memorable for the obstinate conflict in which the Britons were engaged with the invading hosts of the Saxons, is celebrated in the *Gododin*, an epic poem in the British language, supposed to have been written about the sixth century. The scene of these tragical events is thought to have been a part of Scotland, at no remote distance from the English borders. From this circumstance, and the appearance of nearly "*twice two hundred warriors*" in that battle ornamented with the golden wreath, it has been considered as no unjustifiable conclusion, that their gold mines must have been situated in some of the provinces to the northward of the Tweed; and Crawford-moor has been regarded by many as the opulent spot which supplied their golden treasures, and added to the splendour of the Britons. It is a fact universally acknowledged, that gold, in no inconsiderable quantities, has been discovered there at different periods since the accession of the Stewart line to the throne of Scotland. It appears from the records of that kingdom, that the beautiful gold coins struck by

King James V., and distinguished by the name of Bonnet Pieces, were fabricated of materials found in the mines of the country ; and James IV. and his son formed a contract with a company of Germans for working the gold mines of *Crawford-moor*. Cornelius, the principal miner, is celebrated as a man of eminent abilities and superior attainments. They proceeded for some time with considerable success ; but these industrious foreigners were expelled from the country, by the civil commotions and political tempests that desolated the kingdom during the reign of Queen Mary and the minority of King James. They, however, while permitted to proceed unmolested, collected grains of native gold in such profusion, that at the marriage of King James V. with the daughter of the King of France, by way of desert a number of covered dishes were placed before the guests, filled with gold coins, formed of metal extracted from the mines of Scotland.* Small pieces of the metal, washed down by the floods, are frequently found at present in the rivulets that intersect the moor. The late Lady Selkirk (1817) used to wear, as an appendage to her watch-chain, a piece of native gold of considerable magnitude, found by a shepherd in the fosses of *Crawford-moor*.

But these sources have been regarded as too modern a discovery, and as too unproductive in their nature, to furnish the ancient Britons with the treasures which they are asserted to have possessed.

* History of Scotland, Guthrie's Geographical Grammar, p. 132.

The views of the inquirers after the gold mines of the original inhabitants of the island have therefore been directed towards Warlock Head, a place within two miles of Lead Hills, on the estate of the Duke of Queensbury. Medals formed of the gold discovered in these mines, were struck at Edinburgh at the coronation of Charles I. They are at present (1817) worked by a company of Germans, but with what success cannot be exactly ascertained. Mawe, the author of the "Mineralogy," visited Warlock Head a few years since. He found only one man at work, who was engaged in washing in a neighbouring rivulet quantities of reddish earthy matter, of thirty or forty pounds weight, dug from the mine. After several rinsings, a few grains of gold were observed to precipitate themselves to the bottom.* Pieces of virgin gold, exceeding an ounce weight, have been occasionally discovered there by this process. But the success is regarded as too inconsiderable, and too precarious to encourage the company to employ more than one person at a time, in these operations.†

* Mawe's Mineralogy, p. 138.

† It is worthy of remark, that the names of most places in this neighbourhood are purely British, notwithstanding the revolution of so many centuries, as *Pen pont*, Bridge End; *Eccles fechan*, Eglwysfechan, Little Church, Cilscadan Penderi; *Nith*, Aarver, resembling in name Neath or Nedd, in Glamorganshire, Drumlanrûg, the seat of the Duke of Queensbury, &c. Many persons now living remember the old pure British language spoken in the hills of Galloway, in the earliest part of the last century. Could they adopt a uniform pronunciation, and similar rules of orthography, the Irish, the Erse, and the Welsh, would be mutually intelligible to the inhabitants of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

It is therefore questioned whether a sufficient supply of gold could ever have been derived from these mines, supposing them to have been discovered at so early a period, to answer the purposes to which it appears, on the most unquestionable authority, that the richer metals were so commonly and so profusely applied by the ancient Britons.

The inquiries of those who have investigated the subject have recently been directed to a more southern spot. Several places in Carmarthenshire, and its vicinity, appear from their names to have been anciently productive of gold; such as *y gelli aur*, or the golden grove; *melin yr aur*, or the golden mill; *Troed yr aur*, or the foot of the gold hills; and several others. *Cynwyl Gaio* in that county is represented as having been a Roman station for many years; and the Roman troops, while posted there, were employed, it has been imagined, in extracting gold from the mines discovered in the adjacent hills. The name* implies that it was the post occupied by the advanced guard of Caius; and it is probable that the advanced guard of the Britons was stationed at *Cynwyl Elfed*, the advanced post of Elfed, a place situated a few miles to the southward of Caio. The Gauls, the Helvetians, and the Britons, were originally the same people. The identity of names being generally considered as a strong indication of similarity of language, little doubt can be entertained that *Elfed* and *Helvetia* are words that derive their origin from the same language and the same radix.

* From *cyn*, first, and *gwyl*, *gwylis*, to watch, or be vigilant.

That Cynwyl and Elfed was considered by the Britons as an important station, may be demonstrated from the fragments still extant of the works of Llywarch Hên.

*Gwisgwys coed cain dudedd hav,
Dybrysid gwyth wrth dynged,
Cyvarwyddom ni cam Elfed.*

The trees have put on the gay covering of summer,
Let the wrath of slaughter hasten quickly, led by Fate,
Let us be guided onward to the plains of *Elfed*.

From the importance of the British military station, some conjecture may be formed of the attention with which the Romans regarded their rival warlike post opposed to it; of the care with which they provided for its defence, and contributed to its support; and of the solicitude with which they endeavoured to maintain the honour of the garrison intended to restrain the incursions of a brave and enterprising enemy. Several bricks have been dug up in the vicinity of Caio with the initials of Roman names inscribed on them. And tradition asserts that the number of Roman brick edifices in the neighbourhood were formerly so considerable, as to bear the denomination of "*Y Dréf Goch yn Neheubarth*," or the Red Town in South Wales. At Maes Llanwrthwl in this parish, the seat of John Bowen, Esq. about two miles from the village of Caio, a stone has been discovered with a Roman inscription, implying that a Roman general fell there in an engagement with the Britons. The inscription was copied by Mr. Saunders, of Jesus' College Oxford, and communicated to Bishop Gib-

son, who inserted it in his edition of Cambden's *Britannia*.

Roman *tumuli* have been observed in the environs, exceeding in number those that have been discovered in any other part of the kingdom. "*Cryg bar*," or the barrow of anger and resentment, is supposed to be the place where the Romans interred some of their garrison, slain during the insurrection of the Britons under Boadicea. It is related by Tacitus, that when Ostorius commanded in Britain, he advanced within no inconsiderable distance of the channel that separates Great Britain from Ireland,* and that he was for some time stationed among the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales. These circumstances evidently prove that the scene of action, for some years, during the contest between the Romans and the ancient Britons, was not many miles distant from the spot before mentioned. For when Paullinus Suetonius arrived in Britain, a dangerous insurrection among the Silures had hardly been suppressed, it is probable therefore that, to restore tranquillity, he must have been for some time stationed in the neighbourhood. It is recorded by the same author, that, during the absence of the Roman Army on the expedition to Anglesey, the indignant Britons put several Roman garrisons to the sword, and Paullinus on his return gained a complete victory over them.† Pænius Posthumus, who had disgraced himself by his irresolution and misconduct, was so mortified by his suc-

* Annals of Tacitus, book 12, chap. 31, 32, &c.

† Annals of Tacitus, book 14, chap. 37.

cess, and so chagrined at the contempt in which he was held by the legion, whose military lustre he had sullied, that he added to his other imprudent deeds, the most unjustifiable of all actions, that of laying violent hands on himself. A stone with the inscription "Pænius Posthumus, &c."* was found a few years since by the workmen employed in the formation of a road over the mountain from Llandovery to Trecastle. This has been considered as a proof that many of the transactions recorded by Tacitus, on the occasion above related, occurred at no remote distance from the military station at Caio. Many of the inhabitants of the parish regard themselves as the descendants of a Roman colony; many of them are proud of that descent, and amongst them Roman names are extremely prevalent. There is an individual now living, who bears the name of Paullinus, but the modern Paullinus, instead of commanding armies, and invading kingdoms—such are the vicissitudes connected with humanity—works as a day-labourer, and lives contentedly in a cottage. Many further proofs might be adduced to corroborate the truth of the facts that have been stated, and to demonstrate that the Roman forces were, for many years, stationed in this neighbourhood; and no motive can be thought so likely to have operated on their avidity, and to have induced them to determine on so pro-

* The inscription was copied by several gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and the stone was left by the workmen at the Black Cock public-house on Trecastle mountain, where it lay not many years since.

tracted a residence upon such a spot, as the hopes from the discovery of a mine, of accumulating wealth and adding to their treasures.

That the Roman soldiery, while on this station, were engaged in an attempt to extract gold from the mines discovered in the adjacent hills, is thought to be sufficiently proved by the vestiges of Roman art and military industry observable in the Ogofau, or caves of Caio. They are subterraneous passages, ramifying in various directions, and horizontally carried to a considerable distance, under a hill of no common altitude. They are manifestly the effects of human labour; and from every evidence that can now be collected, they appear to have been continued, if not originally commenced, by the enterprising spirit of the Roman legions. A very different account of them, however, is given in the fabulous legends of the middle centuries. At the entrance of the caves lies a stone of uncommon magnitude, the surface of which appears excavated in five different places at regular distances. The cavities are of no great depth, and are nearly of a circular form, which seems to have been the origin of a fable. Five juvenile saints, we are informed, on their pilgrimage to the celebrated shrine of St. David, emaciated with hunger and exhausted with fatigue, here reclined themselves to rest, and reposed their weary heads on this ponderous pillow. Their eyes were soon closed by the powerful hand of sleep, and they were no longer able to resist, by the force of prayer, the artifices of their foes. The skies were suddenly obscured with clouds; every object disappeared, as if concealed

in the shades of the darkest night. The thunder rolled, the lightning flashed, and the rain fell in overwhelming torrents. The storm increased in vehemence, all nature became chilled with cold, and even piety and charity felt its effects. The drops of rain were soon congealed into enormous hailstones, which, by the force of the wind, were driven with so much violence on the heads of the weary pilgrims as to affix them to their pillow, and the vestiges they left are still discernible. Being borne away in triumph by the malignant sorcerer, who inhabits the hollows of these hills, they were concealed in the innermost recesses of his cavern, where they are destined to remain asleep, bound in the irrefragable chains of enchantment, until that happy period shall arrive, when the diocese shall be blessed with a pious bishop. For when that happens, no doubt Merlin himself, the enemy of malignant sorcerers, will be disenchanted, and he will rouse and restore to liberty the dormant saints, when they will immediately engage in the patriotic work of reforming the Welsh, who much require it. Owen Lawgoch, or *Owen with the red hand*, and his troops—the favourite heroes of the Welsh romancers—who are represented as now lying enchained by the hand of sorcery in the cave of Merlin, will, it is equally credited, at the same happy period be restored to their pristine vigour and activity: when they will recover the lost empire of the Britons, and gain them a complete triumph over every nation, less ignorant, less inactive, and less immoral than themselves. In an enchanting spot, embosomed in a romantic vale, on the opposite banks

of the river Cothi, a church was erected to the memory of the sleeping pilgrims, called Llan pum Saint, or *the church of the five saints*, where, for many an obscure age, drowsy congregations nodded over their prayers, and slept under the soporiferous effects of dull and vapid discourses. They at length slept so profoundly, that they suffered their sacred building to fall in ruins : scarcely a vestige of it now remains. These narcotic affections, it is thought, in process of time became epidemical, and infected not a few of the adjacent parishes. Such are the fabulous legends that are related with great gravity by the guides, who generally conduct strangers through these subterraneous regions. The caverns are frequently visited in the summer season by parties from the inn, in the neighbouring village of Llan pum Saint, on the road leading from Llandovery to Lampeter ; and all who have attentively examined them, speak with rapture of the novelty and beauty of the scene. A design seems to have been formed, at some remote period, of excavating the whole mountain, and to a considerable extent the project appears to have been carried into execution. Long passages have been dug, huge pillars framed, and spacious chambers scooped in the rock, the lofty roofs of which, covered with spar and pyrites of various colours, reflect the light carried by the guides, with so much brilliancy, as at once to surprise and dazzle the beholders. A subterraneous stream ripples through these deserted mines, and the adjacent caverns echo to its murmurs. The variegated colours of the spar, the sudden appearance of the water, the reverberations of the

sound from rock to rock, give an indescribable grandeur and solemnity to every object, and make the place wear more the appearance of enchantment than of the works of art. The effect of music in this rock-formed theatre is described as at once pleasingly captivating and awfully sublime.

The village of Llan pum Saint at present forms a part of the parish of Caio. The church or chapel, of which it anciently boasted, was dedicated, it is related by antiquaries, not to the *five sleeping saints*, but, like many others in different parts of Wales, to the five principal tutelar saints, natives of the Principality; the most remarkable actions of whose lives are recorded in an old manuscript, called "*Achau'r Saint*," or *the Lives and Descent of the Saints*. The stone at the entrance of the caves was used, it is said, by the miners, not for a pillow, but for the purpose of clearing the secrementitious earth from the ore, and the cavities in it were formed by the repeated stamping of the drossy substances to obtain more valuable matter. The rivulet that now murmurs through the mines is supposed to have been formerly diverted into it by the miners, when they discovered the reddish earth, where the most valuable stratum commences, in order, as is customary in such operations, to disunite every particle of heterogeneous matter, and to lay the ore bare. Many of the curious, and some who are well skilled in the knowledge of minerals, have traversed these caverns to the distance of nearly half a mile, but none now living have ever explored the furthest extremity of the excavations; what appearances of a mine may be dis-

cernible in all parts of the works cannot, therefore, be justly determined. Sir Joseph Banks, and several other persons of superior intelligence, critically examined it, and were of opinion, that it must have been a gold mine in days of yore.

That the Romans were long employed here in their researches after the richer metals, is fairly deducible from divers circumstances. The marks of their tools have been observed in various places on the rocks, and Roman characters have been discovered, which are supposed to have been intended for the initials of the names of that renowned people. A few years since considerable quantities of pyrites or marcasites of gold were met with near the surface of the ground, on the summit of the hill above the works, on the estate of John Johnes, Esq., but when assayed, they were found to contain nothing but sulphur and salts. This discovery, however, was considered as affording evident indications of the proximity of a mine. The appearance of the valley, at the entrance of the Ogofau, is extremely singular, and seems greatly to favour the hypothesis, that these hills did contain a gold mine, and that the Romans were employed in pursuing it. It is a deep ravine of an irregular form and of unequal breadth, with the fragments of a huge rock standing nearly in the centre, resembling the ruins of a battered tower. The whole dingle bears indubitable traces of some convulsive violence, and appears as if a part of the rock originally stood in it, and as if a portion of the superincumbent hill had been rent from its base by an earthquake, or by the force of some unusual com-

motion of the elements. It is asserted by Pliny, in his *Natural History*, that it was a common practice with the Roman soldiers, when stationed in the Spanish provinces, to excavate and undermine whole mountains suspected to contain the precious metals, and then to divert the course of rivers, and affuse them from an eminence on the works, when the impetuous torrent irresistibly carried every thing before it, subverted the loftiest hills from their foundation, and precipitated the entire mass of which they were composed to an amazing distance. That, at convenient places, where the abated force of the current, and the nature of the ground appeared favourable to the purpose, weirs were formed, which afforded an uninterrupted passage to the water, but arrested the earth, sand, and gravel, in their course; that these were afterwards carefully sifted, and skilfully washed. If any grains of gold happened to be commixed with them, these grains were easily discovered, and readily separated from more drossy and less valuable materials.

A similar account of the process usually had recourse to by the Romans, when stationed near mountains supposed to abound with gold, is given by Rollin in his *Ancient History*. That operations of this nature were formerly attempted at these mines is evident from the vestiges of stupendous works still visible after the lapse of so many centuries, and the shocks of so many revolutions of nature. Several miles above the mines, nearer the source of the river Cothi, are at this time seen the remains of a mole constructed to confine the stream and to divert

its course. The number and inequality of the adjacent hills, the cataracts rushing from them during the frequent and violent showers, which are common to this part of the country, must often have been the means of proving the strength of the dyke. Some marks of it however still appear, and serve to give some idea of the violence with which the current, thus opposed in its course, and swollen with floods, rushed over its banks, and tore up the bed of the river to an incredible depth. The pool formed by the waterfall, and immediately below the dam, is, from the profundity of the water, and the dusky appearance of the stream, denominated by the peasants, "*Bwll Uffern,*" or *the Pit of Hell*. A celebrated antiquary and naturalist, who lately visited this country to investigate these remains of Roman industry, attempted to cross the stream a little above the mole, and, having no other expedient, mounted on the back of one of his guides. The poor fellow, after tottering a few steps under his load, fell with him in the middle of the river. They were both saved by another peasant, who accompanied them, and were conveyed to the opposite bank without any further accident. The country people, with their usual vivacity, and love of the ridiculous, diverted themselves with this incident, and represented it as a concerted plan between the guide and his companion, that the learned traveller should be thrown into the stream by one of them, and rescued from danger by the other, concluding, no doubt, that they would be able to obtain from his fears the reward which they could not expect from his liberality; or recover

salvage, as they expressed it, and divide the spoil. As some of them are so far favoured with the gifts of poetry as to be able, on an emergency, to produce an *impromptu*, several pennillion and englynion, or *Welsh epigrams*, were composed on the occasion. In some of them the ingenious antiquary was compared to a milch-cow withholding her milk, in order to obtain which, it becomes necessary to moisten the udder. One of these effusions, as it may serve to show the humour of some of our countrymen, shall be here inserted :

*Wyr ! dyma frodyr hyfrydion, gwalchod
Yn gwlychu marchogion !
Rhoi gwr main o Lundain lon,
O rhyfedd ! yn yr afon !
Godrwyr yw y gwyr heb gil, os pwylllo
Os pallu wna'r armel,*
Gwlych y dëth, y gwalch uchel.
A llaith ddwrn, a'r llaeth a ddél.*

Which has been thus translated :

What blundering guides, how ill they tread !
To roll in mud so clear a head !
To plunge,—who starts not at the sight !—
In streams like these, so great a knight !
Strange guides, for verse as strange a theme,
To guide a stranger to a stream,
Thus on their backs a man to bear
Into the flood, then drop him there !
Who dropp'd him had their views no doubt,
As well as those who help'd him out ;
Dry-shod he hardly pays the swain,
But dipp'd he pays as well again.

* The second milking is so called in some parts of Wales.

Thus by sly milk-maids we are told,
That dry teats oft the milk withhold;
But if you wet them, well you know,
The silver streams profusely flow.

Un arall.

*Gwr am chwech trwy afon fechan, ddig ddyn,
Ddigwyddoda* yn drwstan,
“ 'N y rhyd, ebef, dynaran,
“ Rho swllt, ui frysio allan.”*

Another.

A great man once, agreed his guide,
Across a rapid stream to ride;
But as the fee he paid was small,
Amidst the flood he let him fall;
“ You got in cheaply,” quoth the lout,
“ What will you give to get you out?”

From the mole or dam the water was gradually conducted to the summit of the highest hills, and conveyed by a capacious aqueduct, the vestiges of which may still be distinctly traced, along a ridge of mountains, to a distance of nearly ten miles. Whether the magnitude and rapidity of the river, or the height and inequality of the ground, be considered, the conception of the design must be admitted to have been as admirable as the execution of it was astonishing. It was not till of late years, when the curiosities of nature and of art, discovered in various corners of the principality, began to excite the attention which they merit, that these monuments of Roman industry and ingenuity were deemed worthy of notice. They are now justly considered as the most extraordinary works of the kind in Great Bri-

* Fell, digwyddo, to fall.

tain, perhaps in Europe. The water in the canal on the summit of the hill opposite to Brunant, the seat of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, must have been nearly a mile above the bed of the river from which it was raised. From that eminence this immense body of water was conveyed by a broad dyke, the vestiges of which are still discernible, to the highest part of the precipice immediately above the *Ogofau*, the mineral excavations. Here it was arrested in its course, and permitted, by means of a large reservoir, to collect its force before it poured itself, with its accustomed impetuosity, on the excavated hills below it. When its aid was not required to facilitate the labours of the miners, it was discharged through a sluice on the opposite side of the reservoir, and led by a winding channel, the banks of which may now be seen towards the village of Caio, where it disembogued itself into a brook, that falls at a considerable distance into the usual course of the Cothi. That so much toil and labour might not be unattended with some beneficial effects, the river thus raised from its bed was not permitted, even when not needed in the mines, to return to it until it had assisted in some work of industry likely to minister to the subsistence, or to the comforts, of man. On the banks of the new-formed canal, mills and other useful engines were erected, which were kept in motion by the agency of the water originally drawn from the river. The remains of one of them, called *Melin Milwyr*,*

* *Milwyr* means a thousand men, from *mil*, a thousand, and *gwŷr*, men, as they were regimented or formed into legions by thousands. *Milwyr* likewise implies soldiers.

or the Soldier's Mill, is still shewn by the peasants in that neighbourhood. From the supposed etymology of the name, they contend that a thousand men were in those times engaged to assist at the mill, and contribute to the mechanical part of the operation—a construction, which, though not justified by the real import of the word, manifests their vast idea of the ancient magnificence of the works, and of the extensive scale on which they were conducted.

Near the valuable mines of South America, engines or stamping-mills are put in requisition to crush the ore, or separate the dross from the metal; but what were the particular uses to which that erected by the Roman military was applied, cannot now perhaps with certainty be determined. It seems, however, to be pretty generally admitted, by those who have attentively examined the works, that the Romans were stationed here, and that the soldiery, according to the usual severity of their discipline, must have been employed in improving the military roads, in forming canals, and in working the mines. But whether these were lead mines, or copper mines, as individuals variously contend, or whether they were gold mines, as most persons who have recently examined them are of opinion, must be submitted to the decision of scientific inquirers. Such alone are competent judges of the subject. That Roman industry and perseverance extracted gold from them may be admissible; but whether they acquired it in such portions as would satisfy the avidity of modern speculators is a problem that cannot be so promptly solved.

But though it should be admitted that this celebrated nation, by their prodigious efforts, obtained the precious metals in certain proportions from these excavated hills, it does not necessarily follow that the mines had been originally discovered, or previously worked, by the ancient Britons; and that the invading armies only completed what the inhabitants of the country had begun. There are no British records of credit extant that can be expected to throw light on the obscure transactions of so remote a period. It appears, however, from some fragments of the works of the British bards, that Caio was a place of considerable importance as early as the sixth century. It is described as a city in the elegies of Llywarch Hên, already so frequently cited:

*Lluest Cadwallawn tra chaer
Caew, byddin a chynnwrf taer,
Can cād, a thorri can caer.*

The army of Cadwallon encamped near the city
Of Caew, a host that was stubborn in the tumult
Of a hundred battles, and the falling of a hundred castles.

Owen's Llywarch Hên, p. 113.

Mr. Owen,* in a note on this passage, observes that "there is a place called Cao, in Caermarthen-shire." It is necessary, however, to state that *Caer* is sometimes translated a fortress as well as a city; and that the lines alluded to may imply no more than that it was at that period a strong military

* The late lamented Dr. W. O. Pughe.

post. But in either case it will amount to a proof, that it was then regarded as an important station. The vicinity of the mines may have been the principal inducement for giving the preference, as a military residence, to a spot so destitute of other attractions, and situated so remotely from the centre of the kingdom.

The monuments of antiquity constantly discovered in the neighbourhood have been thought rather to favour the opinion, that the Britons were equally successful in these or some other mines in the environs. The most remarkable is a golden chain lately found in a field near the ancient family seat of John Johnes, esq. of Dolau Cothi, in this parish. It is supposed to have been a "torques," or military wreath of honour, worn by an ancient British chieftain of distinction. To the extremity of it was attached the figure of a serpent, fabricated of gold, of an elegant form, and beautiful workmanship, which has been conjectured to have been intended as an emblematical representation of the warrior's martial qualifications, implying the crafty general, and the formidable foe. Perhaps the "torquati," or the warriors ornamented with golden wreaths, generally wore, suspended from those chains, a particular figure, as an indication of their talents, or a memorial of their exploits; and this may serve to elucidate the appellations of "lion," "eagle," "wolf," or "falcon," applied by the bards in their poems to different generals, and to illustrious British heroes:—

*Eryr Pengwern, pell gelwid heno,
Ar waed gwyr gwelid.*

The eagle of Pengwern calls far about this night;
On the blood of men he is seen.

Owen's Llywarch Hên, p. 82.

Tarw trîn, rhyvel adwn.

The bull of tumult, guider of the war, &c.

Ibid. p. 142.

This proof of ancient British military splendour, discovered near the mines of Caio, was a few years since shewn to a celebrated antiquary and natural philosopher, at the hospitable mansion of Dolau Cothi, and the figure of the dragon or serpent was presented to him, to be deposited in the archives of the Antiquarian Society. The chain is still in the possession of Mr. Johnes; it is of considerable length, and must have been of sufficient extent several times to encircle the warrior's neck. It is destitute of any ornamental work, but is neat and elegant; each link being about an inch in length, and the whole being of very simple construction. The gold is much purer than any at present in common use, and the prodigious quantity of that valuable metal expended on a badge of honour, so frequently worn, has been considered a cogent argument in favour of those who contend that there were gold mines in this neighbourhood in former days, and who are of opinion that they were not unknown to the Britons.*

* Most indubitable proofs have lately been discovered to establish the fact beyond the possibility of a doubt; that the

But as the people of these districts were late in their submission to the Romans, and opposed them not unsuccessfully in arms, at the period when other parts of the island were reduced to a tributary state; it has been thought that the gold mines of Cunobelinus must necessarily be sought for in some corner of the country more accessible to the Roman forces, and inhabited by tribes more tractable in their disposition, and less determined in their resistance to invading enemies. The Trinobantes, or the Trano-vantiaid, influenced by their king Mandubratius, are described by Cæsar as the first people among the Britons that subjected themselves to a foreign yoke, and that suffered the conquerors to lay their country under a contribution. Several authors of considerable credit, therefore, have been of opinion, that the mines of Cunobelinus must have been situated somewhere within the counties of Essex or Middlesex, the provinces originally inhabited by the Trinobantes. Dr. Plot, in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, and Morant, in his *History of Essex*, are the most eminent writers who have adopted that opinion. The former contends that mines are fre-

mines in Wales, particularly the coal mines, were worked by the Britons as well as by the Romans. A flint hatchet was found stuck in a coal vein, in a mine in North Wales; and in another pit in the same country were found the bones of an elephant. Flint tools were used by the Britons, before the application of iron to common purposes, and elephants were introduced to this island by the Romans, and used to work the machinery at the mines, &c. See Pennant's *Tour through North Wales*, and Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*.

quently lost through the supineness of an ignorant age, or the storms of domestic trouble. In support of his hypothesis, he instances those of Hungary, which were long lost, and in process of time were again partially discovered; and* “the gold mines of Cunobelinus, in Essex,” lost many centuries since, and not yet effectually regained. The respected author† of the natural history of the latter county states it as an opinion possessing many advocates, that the excavations now denominated the “Dane Holes,” were originally entrances into these golden regions. This question, however, having at different periods excited the curiosity of the public, the most unobjectionable method will be to attempt a summary account of every notion entertained on the subject, and to submit the whole to the candid decision of the reader.

The “Dane Holes,” doubtless very extraordinary and almost inexplicable excavations that have long puzzled investigators of the natural history of that county, are narrow pits or shafts sunk in the earth, in a direction perpendicular to the horizon, to the depth of sixty, seventy, or ninety feet, or more, in sundry places in Orsett, West Thurrock, and the neighbouring parishes. Some think that they were originally designed for chalk pits; and, as this fossil is often used in husbandry as a substitute for lime, they contend that the shafts, so commonly observed

* See Dr. Plot's History of Oxfordshire.

† Morant's History of Essex, in his account of the parishes of Orsett, West Thurrock, &c.

in this county, were at various periods sunk by the different proprietors of the adjacent estates, in order to obtain manure for improving and fertilizing their land. The opponents of this hypothesis, on the contrary, represent it as a ridiculous conceit, to suppose their provident ancestors to have been so preposterously extravagant as to incur the unnecessary expense of sinking shafts to such a depth to obtain, for the mere amelioration of the soil, that manure which could be abundantly procured in all parts of the neighbourhood, within a yard or two of the surface of the earth. Chalk, they add, is a substance found in most of the counties of England, without the expense and labour of these extraordinary excavations, while the "Dane Holes" are not only peculiar to this county, but are confined within no extensive portion of it. Others, in order to avoid the absurdities attending the chalk system, maintain, from the fancied etymology of the name, that they were subterraneous places of refuge, in which the Danes attempted to conceal themselves, at the memorable period of the massacre of those invaders by the exasperated Saxons. But this, it is answered, is endeavouring to avoid one absurdity, and falling into a greater. For these narrow pits could afford but an indifferent asylum, where the miserable fugitives might secure themselves, nor did they admit of any egress or any means of eluding the fury of their enraged enemies. And it is observed, if ever the Danes did descend, on such an occasion, into these tremendous gulfs, they must have descended into open sepulchres, where the feeblest foe might crush

them, and where the artful could readily have interred them alive. As it is not probable, it is further argued, that the English would have given their foes long previous notice of the intended massacre, it seems rather an extraordinary circumstance, that they should have found time and resolution for so laborious an operation; and if ever they engaged in such an enterprize, it excites astonishment to reflect that they should not attempt to form the place of their intended retreat on a safer plan, or on a more extensive scale.

If they were known before this period, the Danes in the hour of distress, might have fled for refuge to an asylum originally opened for another purpose. But, this is no argument against the truth of the golden hypothesis; for the retreat of the Danes into them—supposing that fact sufficiently authenticated—is no evidence that the shafts were not originally sunk to approach a mine, and neither of the systems above mentioned can be considered as any reasonable presumption against the truth of the fact, of their being in the first instance designed as vestibules of mines.* The subsequent discovery

* In further corroboration of the truth of this opinion, it is added, that the names of places, in which the Dane Holes are principally found, are favourable to the notion, that Thurrock is derived from the British words *Tir-Eurych*, Goldsmith's-land; and Orsett from *Aursedd*, Golden-seat, or Golden-habitation: *sedd* bearing in ancient British the import of the word seat in English, as may be observed in the compound word *Gorsedd*, a throne, &c. That the original inhabitants left, in the names of many places in Essex, evident vestiges of their language, as in

of various fossils in them might serve to prove, that those who possessed not skill to penetrate into more valuable strata might yet have the ingenuity to possess themselves of the humbler mineral of chalk. And the retreat of the Danes into them might be no more an evidence of their being designed as an asylum, than the escape of an offender to the mines of Cornwall would be a proof, that those excavations were intended as a receptacle for felons. The appellation of "Dane Holes," by which these mines are now known, might have arisen, it is argued, from the circumstance of a few Danes having taken refuge there on the occasion before mentioned; or it might have originated in the fact of the citizens of London having had recourse to these gold mines to discharge the Dane-guelt, the tax anciently imposed on the city by the Danes. It is observed by Morant, in his History of that county, that it is difficult to imagine on any other ground, how the citizens should be able, in that age, to collect the enormous contribution which the rapacious Danes had imposed on them. Those who have adopted this side of the question further contend for the

Ongar, Ash-town, from *onn*, an ash, and *caer*, a fortress, a place remarkable for a large conical tumulus, most probably raised by the Britons. *Billericay*, *Pillarfield*, from *Piler*, a pillar, and *cae*, a field, *i Bilery cae*, to *Billericay*. A large stone set up as a pillar, in a neighbouring field, might have been the origin of the name. *Avon*, the name of several rivers in England, seems to have arisen from the Saxons mistaking the common name *Avon*, a river, used, by the British, for a proper name of a particular stream.

probability of their having had recourse, on such an occasion, to the mines in the royalty of Essex. Though the mines were not productive enough to encourage mercenary adventurers, sufficient metal, on such an emergency, might have been extracted from them, by united efforts and persevering industry, to appease, for a season, the harshness and the intemperate avidity of these merciless invaders. It is further added, that, about the fourteenth century, these gold mines were actually worked with some degree of success; for a royal favourite having obtained a grant of them, which is still on record, a company of German miners were engaged, and certain quantities of the metal being extracted, the prospects for a season appeared extremely favourable. That their mineral efforts did not prove finally successful is attributed to the cupidity and treachery of the Germans, and to the domestic troubles of the times, as well as to the subsequent shocks of civil commotions, which retarded their operations, and at length forced them from the country. It is added, that, in Cambden's time, many vestiges of these mines remained, which are now obliterated. There were then in existence some apertures of great depth in the ground below Tilbury, ingeniously walled round from the base to the top, in the form of a cone or glass-house, to prevent the falling in of the surrounding lands, and there was also an entrance into a spacious horizontal excavation in a field in the parish of East Tilbury, called "Cave Field," &c. It is likewise observed, that about the commencement of the last century,

another attempt was made to recover these golden treasures. A royal grant for that purpose was obtained, and measures, that it was hoped would succeed, were taken, to derive from it every desirable effect; but the immediate operations not answering, and the South Sea Bubble bursting about the same time, the enterprize became unpopular, and the adventurers were discouraged. The unfavourable issue of this attempt, it is alleged, is not so much a proof of the non-existence of the mine, as it is an evidence of the incapacity of the conductors. If the ore was obtained here in the fourteenth, it is scarcely credible, after so long a respite, that it should be found exhausted in the eighteenth century. It is not to be believed that time would have destroyed here what in other places it mellows and improves. Consequently, the mineral productions which our ancestors enjoyed might still be acquired, were their descendants possessed of equal industry and equal ingenuity.

It is further remarked, that the proximity of a mine is frequently presumed from the unhealthiness of the atmosphere, which particularly distinguishes this part of Essex—from the natural sterility of the soil, as is observable in the heaths, and in all the uncultivated land around—and from mineral springs, which are found at Tilbury, and other places at no remote distance. Lastly, if the veracity of the story of the rich treasures of Cunobelinus be admitted, this county seems to have the fairest claim to the honour of containing them, from its proximity to the scene of action, distinguished by Cæsar's earliest

contests with the Britons, his victory over Cassivelaunus, his passage over the Thames, and his final arrangement with the inhabitants to accept from them of an annual tribute, and to leave them unmolested.

Such are the different opinions that have been entertained of these extraordinary excavations, and such is the substance of the arguments on which these various opinions have been founded. To decide these controversies relative to the mineralogy of the county, a gentleman of the cathedral of Canterbury, distinguished for his love of natural history, and his knowledge of the antiquities of his country, formed the extraordinary resolution of descending into one of these caverns. He took with him an eminent surgeon, with the intention, doubtless, in case of accidents, of profiting by his advice and assistance. A rope was procured, and thrown over a pulley, attached to a neighbouring tree. To the lower extremity of the rope a strong piece of wood was horizontally fastened. Seated on this, and bearing a light, an intrepid peasant first descended. He had scarcely reached the bottom, when by some mischance the light was extinguished. His boasted intrepidity forsook him, and he became petrified with horror, at the apprehension of evils with which he was unacquainted, and against which he was unprepared. He imagined he saw another pit, still more profound and more tremendous, yawning to receive him. A light having been procured from a neighbouring farm-house, the other adventurers terrified at the peasant's fear-born exclamations, suc-

cessively descended. The depth was about seventy feet. The different strata were accurately examined as the adventurers passed. They were found to consist chiefly of earth, gravel, and sand; and at the bottom appeared a bed of chalk. At the lower extremity of the shaft, four excavations were horizontally made in four different directions—they were continued but a few yards, and were of no considerable depth. The fears of the peasant, excited as they had been in obscurity, were not calmed on the appearance of the light, when he discovered himself standing on a human skeleton of gigantic size, most of the bones of which, in his agitation, he had trampled to pieces! At some distance, lay on the ground the skeletons of several badgers, rabbits, and hares, which were supposed to have fallen accidentally into this hideous gulf, as they were gamboling through the woods, or roving in quest of food. The human skeleton, it was conjectured, had remained there many years, for on its being rudely touched, it crumbled to dust. No marks were discovered that could lead to a decision whether it was the skeleton of a person who had been murdered and thrown in, or of one who, at some remote period, had fallen into the terrific abyss. The mouth of the excavation is obscured by the shade of a tree, and the sides are concealed by weeds and low brushwood. An unfrequented path leads to a field from the road, within a yard of the aperture, which is not covered, and the ground sinuous and uneven, broken as it is into knolls and sandpits, slopes

towards the mine. To scarcely any spot can the poet's expression,

“ *Facilis est descensus Averni,*”

be more applicable. That such an accident should take place is not so much the object of astonishment, as that similar misfortunes are not frequent. As the head of the human skeleton appeared to be considerably above the common size, the Esculapian enterprizer enveloped it in his handkerchief; but, in his ascent, he was more careful to prevent his own pericranium from coming in contact with the sides of the shaft than to guard his treasure, and on afterwards examining the object of curiosity, which he had intended for his museum, he found that it was battered to pieces.

This expedition into these subterraneous regions totally failed of deciding the controversy relative to the original design of the “Dane holes.” The supporters of the “chalk system” contended that the appearance of a bed of that fossil at the bottom, was a clear proof of the intention of sinking the shaft:—the advocates of the hypothesis, that it was an asylum for the Danes, laboured to prove, that the excavations in the chalk, at the lower extremity of the pit, were intended as places of refuge for the fugitives, when threatened with immediate extermination. The patrons of the gold mines, on the contrary, while they laugh as well at the thought of a shaft sunk to such a depth, and at such an expence, merely to obtain two or three waggon loads of chalk,

which might have been found on the surface of the earth—as at the notion of a subterraneous asylum, prepared with such prodigious labour, that would not contain forty fugitives ; they boast of their own hypothesis, as the most consistent and the most probable. They maintain that gold mines generally run to the depth of a hundred and fifty or sixty fathoms, but that these shafts, at present, are seldom a third of that depth, because the Britons had closed these mines in order to conceal them from the Romans, that they might not excite their avidity, and tempt them to continue their unwelcome visits to the island. This part of the country, they say, was anciently excavated in various places, but the apertures were, at a subsequent period, carefully concealed ; as might be instanced in the ground where Stafford fair was formerly kept, which gave way some years since, to the no small terror and consternation of the populace, and sunk in some places to a considerable depth. The strongest proofs can be adduced to demonstrate, that the ancient Britons possessed the precious metals in profusion, that they applied them to ornamental purposes, and that they had made greater proficiency in the arts, and had attained to a greater degree of civilization than Roman authors seem in general willing to admit. It is hardly credible that those who possessed war chariots of such admirable construction, and could guide them with so much dexterity and address ; could stop them on a descent, and turn them at pleasure when in full career ; could spring on the ground, and continue the combat, when this could

be done more advantageously on foot, that they could then vault to their seats, and drive through the disordered ranks of their enemies, so that Cæsar confessed his best troops were not able to face them, and had not a more honourable way of succeeding against them than by fomenting their intestine divisions, and taking advantage of their want of union among themselves. It is not probable, so it is contended, that those, whom their very enemies admit to have been so well provided with warlike instruments, and to have been so dexterous in the use of them, so well furnished with cavalry, and so rich in well-formed chariots of war, should be so uncivilized as Cæsar, in other parts of his Commentaries, seems to insinuate, or that they were otherwise barbarians, than as Greek and Roman writers honour all nations, except their own, with that appellation.

Such are the systems that have been formed on this interesting subject, and such are the different opinions that have been entertained with respect to them—opinions which, though it may not be necessary to adopt them, it may be useful to know. Some of the most plausible may excite further enquiries; a more minute search, rationally conducted, should it fall short of a more profitable, or a more satisfactory, termination, may tend to throw no small portion of light on the manners and customs of our ancestors, as well as materially to illustrate the history and topography of the country.

A SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE BRITONS
UNDER FIVE EPOCHS.

EPOCH I.

ORIGIN OF THE BRITONS—THEIR HISTORY UNTIL THE
INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary Observations.—Ancient Documents, often imperfect unless assisted by facts.—The nature of those facts.

It is proposed in the following treatise to throw some new light upon the history of a nation, whose origin, in common with the generality of others, is involved in much obscurity and fable.

By taking up the subject with the first ingress of mankind into Europe, we enter into a gloomy wilderness, in which the most enterprising and skilful, who have gone before, have been bewildered, owing to the uncertain tendency of the tracks hitherto discovered. Had we begun with the remarkable epoch

of the invasion of *Britain* by the *Romans*, the path would have been tolerably unobstructed ; but, urged by a little emulation, a passion prevalent in the human breast, we have been tempted boldly to encounter those dangers that have proved so fatal to others ; conscious, at the same time, of possessing some advantages which our precursors had not ; though comparatively speaking, they may be few and humble, yet they are very much to the purpose of the undertaking. The notices given in sacred history, and what is to be found in the writings of Greece and Rome, are all the aids which can be had towards discriminating between the different people, who, in the early periods, burst the western bounds of Asia ; except what additional light may be diffused from an accurate examination of their respective languages, personal characteristics, and habits of life. What ancient authors have touched upon, relative to this epoch, is often very general and vague ; so that most late writers have been misled, and in some instances have contributed to accumulate inconsistencies and embarrassments—mostly, perhaps, from an attachment to some ingenious hypothesis, or from their not being thoroughly acquainted with corroborative facts. Having thus hinted at the insufficiency of historical memorials towards ascertaining certain points, without some coincident and accessory evidences, it ought to be considered what the leading features of those proofs are which lead to the clearest demonstration. Identity of languages is the least fallible of any, though some of the principal dis-

tinctions observed in the external appearance of the human frame may admit of considerable certainty; but comparisons drawn from religion, polity, and manners, are very little to be relied upon. It is only from an intimate knowledge of any of these, that a sober deduction can be expected; without that, the mind ranges into extravagant fantasies; hence we meet with so many illusory and far-fetched analogies, which have brought investigations of this nature into considerable discredit with the sensible part of mankind, whose attention may be casually attracted to the subject. The first especially, from the vague and superficial manner in which it has been pursued, is seemingly under a greater degree of contempt than any investigation constructed upon either of the other two. Yet these are the only guides now remaining, by which we can ascertain the origin of certain ancient nations, who have been confounded together by early writers, for want of more accurate information. The whole of Europe is inhabited by two generic races of men, with the exception of a portion of no considerable extent in the North East, the abode of the primitive Tartars. That being the case, every distinction observed between one nation and another, as to the external appearance of the human frame, can only be of a trifling and an inconsiderable nature, which may, probably with reason, be attributed to the effect of climate and mode of life. Consequently, any opinion formed upon such distinctions is little to be attended to; especially when we reflect upon the

frequent commixtures which have necessarily occurred, from the condition in which, by the aid of history and experience, we see the state of this quarter of the world. The least dependence of all should be placed upon arguments drawn from a comparison of the religion, laws, and customs of different nations. The picture of one will as well suit another in the most distant clime, in the same state of progression towards civilized society. Moreover, we are extremely liable to be deceived for want of information in the delineator ; as they are matters requiring the nicest discernment of the subject, and accuracy of judgment to form the result of what is seen, so as to draw the leading traits of the character with a just and discriminating hand.*

It is, nevertheless, by such tests, and chiefly by the former, that we are to endeavour to judge more precisely to what nations respectively belong the appellations of *Cimbri*, *Celts*, *Gauls*, *Scythians*,

* What cause of regret have we for want of this discrimination in the early history of this island ; what numberless absurdities and contradictions do we find in the works of modern historians, but with one distinguished exception. It needs hardly to be mentioned, that the writings of the Rev. Mr. Whitaker are meant here, as they may be said to form a new epoch in British history. We are sorry to lessen his fame even in the least important points, but the truth of history urges us to wish that he had possessed a greater knowledge of the *language of the ancient Britons*, so that his etymologies might have equalled every thing else advanced by him, as mistakes of that kind are more detrimental in his works than in those of a less distinguished writer.

Sarmatians, and *Goths*, and the many variations of them, by tracing out their descendants, as they are now to be recognized in the different parts of the European countries.

CHAPTER II.

*The nature of the primitive Language of Europe, and
Language in general.*

IN the endeavours made to determine dubious points respecting the origin of nations, signal advantage might be derived from recurring to the aids which the identity of language is capable of affording, if received with due discretion. As it is intended particularly to recur to those aids in this work, it may not be amiss to enter into a cursory investigation of some unnoticed principles of this wonderful medium for the display of the human mind.*

We are inclined to support the opinion of those who contend that speech is coeval with the first of men. There are some who are ever ready to treat such a simple suggestion with great ridicule, who would wish to persuade us that man was for ages mute,

* If the reader wishes to see a general investigation of language and writing, he will meet with abundant satisfaction in perusing that stupendous monument of human research, *C. Gibelin du Monde Primitif*. There he will discover that this learned man has retrieved the lost credit of etymological researches in his display of the original language in Europe.

and had a long tail, like many other of his brother animals; but having a superior instinct for imitation, he copied from all the creation around him, as chance directed. Had the abettors of the latter hypothesis given us the analysis of language as it really is, and not as they, without a thorough examination, have supposed it to be, they would in that case have proved, that there is some apparent foundation for a fact as strange as it is unaccountable.

However, the supporting of one opinion or the other has little connexion with the present enquiry; let us therefore proceed, and endeavour to arrive at some knowledge of the nature of that tongue which primarily and universally prevailed over Europe, so as to sketch out the elementary structure of it, with the aid that can be obtained by consulting some of its principal component parts. The human voice is capable of uttering nearly three hundred simple sounds; that is, such as are perfectly vocal, or such as are articulate, consisting of a vowel and a consonant. All other sounds are only derivatives, or combinations of these. It would be a natural and an important discovery, could the fact be established, that every one of those primary sounds should have an appropriate simple idea annexed to it, and that the sounds and ideas should mutually enter into every combination which might take place, in forming longer words. But there are individuals, of the way of thinking before hinted at, who suppose that language was acquired progressively, and consequently that every sound had a certain import af-

fixed by chance. Notwithstanding what may be so suggested, it will not be difficult to demonstrate the first formation of speech to have been strictly so, that all the sounds were classed according to the different sorts of ideas with which the mind would be necessarily impressed. Some may urge that such a regularity of construction could not have taken place : unless men were acquainted with each other's ideas, which could not have been before the medium for that end was formed. Surprising and unaccountable as the fact may be deemed, we find not only that the structure is thus far perfect, but that it is so in a much greater degree ; for as the primary or simple ideas of the mind would properly divide themselves into a variety of classes, according to their analogy, so it is observable that all the simple sounds are appropriated to those ideas, methodically preserving the like analogy in sound, as the others preserve it in sense. Shall we suppose that primarily speech consisted merely of simple sounds, or that the combination of those sounds was coeval with it ? The former seemingly was the fact, as some languages tend to prove.* However from the necessary connexion between some sounds and their relative ideas, man was not long before he compounded them. The first effects of composition were words of two sounds, such as *man*, *bar*, *anu*, *canu*, and the like. All words of three letters with

* The Welsh in particular ; and indeed, from what little we know of it, the *Chinese* seems partly of that form to this day.

a vowel in the middle have invariably suffered an elision of another preceding it, the one that remains being that part of the sound upon which the principal idea depends. Every particle of the original language must have been pregnant with thought, for not a sound could be uttered but it had some meaning, whether alone or compounded with others, as may be easily proved, for in the *Welsh* this is so far observable, that these primary elements have been preserved, with the exception, probably, of three or four score. Those affixes which form the inflexions of verbs are real words, significant in themselves of the time or action which they are intended to imply, and they were so used separately or otherwise, and are so still in the last mentioned language.* If the appropriate ideas could be restored to the few elementary sounds which are now no longer retained in that tongue, it is presumed that the positions here laid down would be established, and the original language not only of Europe, but of the world in all probability be completely restored. All the languages of Europe evidently discover one common origin, they are therefore formed upon those simple sounds with their connected abstract ideas. What constitutes that diversity which we find, is the appro-

* All those inflexions which denote action or motion are derived from *Au*, to move, to go; and infinitively, *that is going, causing to move*. The Rev. Dr. Vincent, by dint of acuteness of judgment and learning, has discovered that it is nearly so in *Greek verbs*, and makes $\epsilon\omega$ the root. A knowledge of the *Welsh* would have shewn him a more regular deduction, and enabled him to bring his system to greater perfection.

priation of them to a variety of objects, to either of which the general idea would equally apply. Thus, such a word as *Ffordd* might imply a road in one dialect, and a *ford*, *passage*, or *course* in another; or *Rhyd*, a *ford*, should again mean a *road*, as the fact actually is. However contrary to this, in a vast number, the same appropriation runs through languages in general.* Possibly the confusion of languages, amongst those concerned in the tumultuary insurrection of Babel, was the effect of merely altering the appropriation to particulars which still belonged to the same general idea, for the consequence of it seems more evident in that respect probably than in any thing else that can be suggested. And this would be fully adequate to the design, and at the same time without any real change taking place in the abstract signification of a single word. That there is an instability in languages is a remark very commonly met with, but it is far from being just, as will be evinced in the course of the following chapters, from very striking examples. Perhaps the language which the *Saxons* brought over to Britain has been oftener exposed than any to the greatest hazard of a total change, and it may have undergone a change more complete than any other language; yet after all it has preserved its original Teutonic stamina.

* The Welsh word for heaven is found in no fewer than thirty different dialects, as may be seen by consulting Chamberlayn's Collection of the Lord's Prayer. We might also select fifty principal words in the Welsh which run through about as many languages.

The most general cause of the variety of dialects then is that change of the appropriation; however, there is another more early in its origin than that, which is the diversity in the combination of primitive sounds, or the compounding of words, by people detached from one another. But all had the same stock of primary words, joined to the same abstract ideas.

The foregoing positions cannot be seen in their full force, unless they are elucidated by a complete system of examples, which cannot be with propriety introduced here.* At the same time it may not be foreign to the subject to introduce a few instances, lest the preceding observations should be considered as merely loose assertions without proof. All the words of the primitive tongue, in their first state of combination, were resolvable into classes, where each word in every particular class preserved the analogy or general idea of the whole. The nature of that analogy may be seen by examining this class, taken from the Welsh; all the words of which are reducible into classes in the same manner.† *Rhén*, Supreme Being.

* This illustration cannot be carried on to great extent, or in a manner to be relied upon, but by the knowledge of the Welsh language, taking advantage, however, of its sister dialects. A work of this kind was published some years ago, by Dr. Owen Pughe, of which a Dictionary, containing upwards of a hundred thousand regularly formed words, constitutes an important part.

† There seems a little of that analogy in some English words, as *sight*, *light*, *bright*; but it does not go through the whole class.

Pen, head; chief, principal.

Llen, veil, or what is over.

Nen, vault, or canopy; sky.

Cen, what is foremost.

Hén, that is advanced; elder, old.

Sen, what makes conspicuous, a stigma, a name.

Gen, intellect, or soul; the organ of utterance, or mouth.

Fen, a flowing principle; air.

The same word used in different languages preserves the general idea, differently appropriated; and by this is discovered also, if the abstract meaning be correctly known, the reason of the various appropriations of such word; of which the following may serve for illustration: * *Bál*, *s. m.* (by-al) general import—what runs out, or jets, from any centre; what projects; what is driven out, extended, advanced, raised or erected;—a projection, a forcing out, or impelling; a prominence. Appropriated imports—a heap, a pile, a mound, a cone, a peak, a hill; a bud; a boll. Derivatives—*Bala*, a shooting out or discharging; an eruption; a budding; an outlet; an efflux; *Balan*, a springing out, a shooting, a budding, or sprouting; *Balannawl*, springing, shooting forth; *Balannu*, to spring, or shoot forth, to bud; *Baláu*, to spring, or shoot out, to project, or drive out; *Balaw*, efflux of water; *Balawg*, springing out, jetting; having an outlet; *Balu*, to jet, shoot or project, &c.

* A long list of particular words might be made out, exhibiting a more striking affinity; but this specimen is intended to shew what may be done, by going regularly through different languages

Derivative appropriation in different languages.

WELSH.

Balac, what stands up ; a balk,
a ridge of land unploughed ;
an irregularity in a furrow.

With its derivatives.

Balch, a towering or proud
one ; *a.* prominent, towering,
proud. *With its derivatives.*

Baldardd, a budding, or break-
ing out of buds. *With its*
derivatives.

Baldog, a fat punchy person.

Baldordd, a babbling or prat-
tling. *With its derivatives.*

Balgur, a breaking forth, a
springing out.

Balwg, the tufts or seed of flax.

Balalwy, a palm tree.

Ball, a protuberance ; an erup-
tion ; the plague.

Ballasg, the husky coat of
some fruits ; as nuts, &c.

Ballaw, to shout, to bellow, to
scream.

Ballawg, a hedge-hog.

Balleg, a wheel, or bow net.

IRISH.

Bal, a place, a spot ; a rock ;
a village.

Balach, a giant.

Baladh, effluvia, scent, or
smell.

Balaighe, profit, advantage.

Balbh, a stammerer.

Balc, great, mighty, strong.

Bale, a crustiness, or hardness
of the surface of the earth.

Ball, a limb, or member ; a
way.

Balg, an open or great gap.

Balla, a wall ; a bulwark.

Ballach, a way, a road.

Ballach, speckled, or spotted.

Ballan, a teat, a dug ; a shell,
a snail shell.

Ballardhaim, to divulge, or
report.

Ballasdadh, a publishing, or
setting forth.

Balchrith, trembling.

Ballghalar, a plague.

Ballnasg, the limbs, or joints.

Ballog, the skull ; a blot or
spot.

Ballsg, a freckle, spot or blot.

Baltadh, a border, or welt.

Baltin, health, safety.

ARMORIC.

Bal, a berry.

Balaen, broom ; a besom.

Balan, broom.

Balaven, a butterfly.

Bale, to walk.

Balec, a priest.

Bali, a high grown wood.

Balin, a coverlet.

HEBREW.

Bal, to throw together, to mix,
to confound.

Bala, to waste, to decay; to destroy; this word and its derivatives seem to have had their meaning in the Hebrew, from the dispersion at Babel.

Baloth, *balim*, dæmons; the three sons of Noah.

Jebeleth, a wen; having a wen.

Bul, a stump of a tree; October, the fall of the leaf.

Mebul, a deluge or flood, an overwhelming.

Tebel, the canopy of the sky, the atmosphere, the air.

Baleg, to encourage, to strengthen.

Baal, to be supreme or master; to have dominion; to use.

Baal, the object of worship amongst the Babylonians, and the neighbouring nations, which was the sun or fire, under many symbols.

GREEK.

Balagra, a key, a lock or bolt.

Balanos, mast; acorn.

Balantion, a pouch, purse, or bag.

Balenatos, kingly, royal.

Balbis, a bar or rail.

Balios, various; speckled; rapid.

Ballo, to throw, to fling; to shoot, to dart.

Balloth, offensive horehound.

Balsamon, the tree or juice of balm.

SAXO-GOTHIC.

Balc, a balk or line of unploughed land.

Balcettan, to belch, to eructate.

Bald, bold, audacious, forward.

Baldsam, balsam, balm.

Balew, *balewa*, depraved, wicked.

Balgs, the uterus, the womb.

Balo, wicked, evil.

Balsagga, the neck.

Balsan, balsam or balm.

Balsminte, the watercress.

Balweins, a rack; a hurling engine.

Balwjan, to turn about, to hurl; to rack.

Balwith, bending; turned, twisted.

LATIN.

Balæna, a vast sea-fish, a kind of whale.

Balanites, a kind of round chesnuts.

Balanus, mast, acorn; a kind of shellfish.

Balatro, a pitiful fellow, a shabby rascal.

Balatus, a bleating of sheep.

Balbus, stammering, stuttering.

Balbutio, to stammer, to stutter.

Balliolus, a negro, a moor.

Ballista, an engine to throw missiles, a brake or sling.

Ballote, stinking horehound.

Balo, to bleat as sheep.

Balteus, a girdle, a sword-belt.

GERMAN.

- Bal*, a bad action, a wicked deed ; misery, grief.
Balbier, a barber or shaver.
Bald, bold, audacious ; confident, strong ; abrupt, short.
Baldgreik, groundsel, groundswell.
Balei, jurisdiction, bailiwick.
Balg, a coat or skin, felt ; a husk, a capsula ; the uterus, the young of any animal ; a budget ; a strumpet.
Balgen, to divest of husks, to shell, to 'peel ; to brawl, to scold, to be angry.
Balger, a duellist or fighter.
Balke, a balk or beam.
Ball, a dance, a frisk or skip.
Balle, a bale, a bundle.
Balz, *lusus venereus*.

SWEDISH.

- Balja*, a large vessel, a vat, a pail.
Balk, a balk or beam.
Balk, a balk in a ploughed field.

ITALIAN.

- Balbettare*, to stammer.
Baldacchino, a canopy.
Baldanza, boldness, courage.
Baldo, bald or bare.
Baldoria, bonfire, wildfire.
Balena, a whale.
Baleno, lightning.
Balenare, to lighten.
Balestro, a cross-bow.
Balia, power, authority ; a tutor.

Balioso, powerful, stout.

Balire, to govern, to nurse.

Balla, a bale or pack.

Ballare, to dance.

Ballatojo, a gallery.

Ballo, a ball or dance.

Balocco, a simpleton, a booby.

Balleo, a belt or girdle.

Baluario, a bulwark.

Balza, a rock, a precipice.

Balzana, *balza*, a flounce or furbelow.

Balzano, white-spotted or speckled.

Balzare, to bounce, to leap.

ENGLISH.

- Balance*, a poise, overplus of weight.
Balani, shellfish adhering to others of a larger sort.
Balcony, a projecting gallery in front of a house.
Bald, bare-headed, stripped, exposed.
Baldrick, a girdle ; the zodiac.
Bale, a bundle or pack.
Bale, calamity ; destruction.
Bale, to throw water out.
Balk, a large beam.
Balk, a ridge of unploughed land ; a mere.
Balk, to refuse ; to disappoint.
Balkstaff, or *Balstaff*, a quarter-staff.
Ball, a dancing or dance.
Ballast, stuff to balance ships.
Balliage, exportation duty paid by aliens.
Balotade, a leap or bound.

Baluster, a small column.
Balm, the juice and tree so called.

SPANISH.

Bala, a bullet or ball.
Baladro, a bellowing.
Baladron, a boisterous fellow, a bully.
Baladronear, to act boisterously, to brag.
Balagar, a hayrick.
Balago, a whole reed of corn, also a sheaf.
Balaguero, a heap of straw.
Balance, a balance; also danger.
Balancia, a water-melon.
Balandra, a bilander.
Balandran, a cassock.
Balar, to bleat like sheep.
Balazo, a bullet or shot.
Balcon, a balcony.
Balda, a thing of no value; idleness.
Baldado, a withered limb.
Baldur, to maim, to deprive of a limb.
Balde, a bucket.
Baldeo, a sword, in cant language.
Baldio, waste; void; idle; a common.
Baldon, abusive language; reproach.
Baldonada, a courtesan.
Baldonar, to scold; to abuse; to reproach.
Baldres, dressed thin leather or skin.

Balerina, valerian.
Balhurria, the mob.
Balica, a sort of boat.
Balido, a bleating of sheep.
Balija, a leathern bag, a port-manteau.
Balisa, a beacon; a landmark.
Ballestas, a wallet.
Ballico, darnel, tares.
Balnadu, a gate.
Balon, a great pack of goods.
Balona, a band.
Balones, a pair of breeches.
Balsa, a pool or puddle.
Balsar, to fill with water, to make a puddle.
Balsopeto, a kind of large purse.
Baltrueto, a rambling fellow, a vagabond.
Baluarte, a bulwark.
Balvasores, the ruling men in a nation.
Balumba, a great heap of things.
Balza, a kind of banner.

FRENCH.

Bal, a ball or dance.
Balade, a ballad.
Baladin, a dancer at shows, a buffoon.
Balafre, a gash or slash.
Balafre, to gash, to slash.
Balandran, a large coarse cloak.
Balay, a broom; a besom.
Balayer, to sweep.
Bale, a bullet, a ball; chaff.
Balire, buoy or mast.

<i>Baliveau</i> , a pollard, a stander.	<i>Balagóurka</i> , a female buffoon or jester.
<i>Baliverner</i> , to trifle.	<i>Balákaew</i> , to babble, to prattle.
<i>Ballon</i> , a foot ball.	<i>Balálayka</i> , a kind of lute with two strings.
<i>Balot</i> , a bale or packet.	<i>Balast</i> , ballast.
<i>Balote</i> , a voting ball.	<i>Balachon</i> , a signal.
<i>Baloter</i> , to toss ; to ballot ; to discuss.	<i>Baldachin</i> , a baldachin, a kind of canopy.
<i>Balourd</i> , a loggerhead.	<i>Balsam</i> , balsam.
RUSSIAN.	
<i>Balabàn</i> , a lanner falcon, a kind of hawk.	<i>Balouew</i> , to waste, to spoil.
	<i>Baliassi</i> , a prattling, a prating.

For the sake of brevity, several words are omitted, which are borrowed into the modern languages in common from the Greek and the Latin. The foregoing specimen will suffice to show, that much remains to be done towards the successful investigation of speech, and that important information may be obtained from the completion of the plan, of which this is a faint sketch. But some may urge, that the idea of what is here traced out would prove too much, that all languages are but one, and yet so different, as not to be understood in common. In answer to such objection, it may be inferred from the premises that have been laid down, that the primary characteristic of the identity of languages consists in having the same combination of radical words, and the same appropriation of their relative ideas, as an uniformity of construction depends mostly upon those two principles.

CHAPTER III.

Progress of the Colonization of Europe, from the time of the dispersion at Babel to the commencement of History.

FOR the period of nearly four hundred years subsequent to the deluge, mankind increased and lived together, under the government and parental instruction of the patriarch Noah, the preacher of righteousness, and his immediate descendants. The elevated and central country of Armenia, with some of the neighbouring regions, was ample enough to be so long the nursery of the world; but at length it became necessary to devise regulations for separating, and to branch out into different nations. Accordingly in the days of Peleg, the earth was divided, when each family had its appropriate allotment. The department of the sons of Japhet, agreeably to the divine decree, lay westward; and taking their course that way they thus progressively expanded, so as to embrace the shore of the Euxine; thus some on the right hand entered Europe by the Palus Mæotis; whilst others colonized Asia Minor, and afterwards crossed the Propontis on the left. They had made no considerable progress in those directions, before they were followed by wandering colonies of a people descended from a family whose conduct had been less regular. These were the sons

of Chus, who, in contempt of the sacred compact, had ejected Ashur out of his territory; had departed from the primitive religion, and for their combination to establish themselves therein by the building of Babel, who had been scattered over the face of the earth, by the confusion of their language. By that signal dispersion, they were under the necessity of wandering about in search of settlements; and, as it appears that they had made greater progress in sciences than probably any other people, they were consequently possessed of advantages which rendered them more powerful. The result of this was, an encroachment upon the territories of the original inhabitants, wherever they came in their way. These therefore were the first who brought war and disunion, with their attendant evils, amongst the sons of men.

For the space of about a thousand years more, which brings us down to the time of Solomon, and the commencement of the Grecian Annals, those two original nations ramified into different tribes, annoyed one another, intermixed in some instances, subdued or were subdued, multiplied, and eventually, towards the close of that period, colonized the most western extremities of Europe. Such were the events, as facts and experience seem to indicate, that must have occurred in that period of obscurity, under the accumulated clouds of the mystic ages. All is dark like Erebus within, and the lightnings, occasionally playing on their outskirts, prove but intermittent flashes, throwing a momentary gleam on the monuments of history. The outline of the general effect,

arising from the events above hinted at, seems to be this. The Cymbrians,* first people, or the descendants of Japhet, had, towards the end of the period now under consideration, become widely diffused in small communities, over the most accessible parts of Europe. The later colonies, who, for the sake of discrimination, shall be called Scythians,† for some ages hereafter, spread in different tribes, from the western shores of the Euxine, down into Greece, and the contiguous islands, where they are mostly distinguished under the appellation of Ionians,‡ who, in process of time, became blended with the original people. The northern communities of these people

* This appellation is to be found progressively through Europe to Britain, and is used to this day by the Welsh; it being the generic name by which they call themselves, and it literally implies the *first race* or the *original people*.

† Cythu, the root of which is *Cwth*, is, to eject, force out, expel, or disperse; and hence the appellations, *Cythau*, *Cythi*, *Cythiaid*, *Cythion*, *Cythwys*; and with *Ys* prefixed, *Ysgythau*, *Ysgythi*, *Ysgythiaid*, *Ysgythion*, and *Ysgythwys*, all implying the *expelled*, or *dispersed ones*; which, with the elision of the *Y*, would be written *Scythi* or *Sgythi*.

‡ Those people who were so dispersed from Babel were, amongst other names, generally denominated, *Cythites* and *Ionians*; the latter, because of their worshipping the *dove*, being one of the chief arkite emblems. It is remarkable, that the word pigeon is called *Ysgythau* in *Welsh*, the characteristic of which is delineated in the adage—" *Nerth Ysgythau yn ei hadanedd*," the strength of the woodpigeon in her wings. It is possible, that those idolatrous people used the epithet *Iön*, primarily for the Deity, and transferred it to the *dove*, on its becoming an object of worship; for the very same word *Iön* is to this day an epithet for God in the *Welsh tongue*; though mostly used in poetry, and particularly in the metrical psalms.

found it expedient and political to become more united : They accordingly formed themselves into a massy column, and tracing the course of the river Danube, they penetrated the interior of the continent, and eventually left their rear to be closed up by the original natives. It is to the arrival of the Scythians, or the dispersed ones, amongst the original inhabitants that we are to attribute, in a great measure, if not altogether, that vast confusion which took place in the history of the ancient nations of Europe. At the same time it may be observed, that the principles which created the leading distinctions between those two classes of mankind were language and religion. The one preserved the original tongue, and with it, in a considerable degree, the pure religion inculcated by Noah ; the other, on account of the innovations first introduced at Babel, with the change of religion lost, the established appropriation of speech. As the darkness that obscured the preceding period was dissipated by the dawn of the historic times, we find the *Cymbrians*, and the *Scythians*, coming to view in different parts of Europe, and under a variety of appellations. The former, most generally, were called *Cimmerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Gomerians*, *Galls*, *Galatians*, *Gauls*, and *Celts* ; the others were the *Getians*, *Goths*, and several names less known ; of these the *Helladians* and *Ionians* were branches.

CHAPTER IV.

The identity of the Cymbrians, and other specified nations.

THE point now under consideration abounds with many difficulties, which cannot be thoroughly solved by relying upon what ancient authors have transmitted down relative to the subject ; for in several instances, from the scantiness of their information, they may have denominated one nation by the appropriate appellation of another ; or may have confounded those together who were peculiarly different in every respect. These errors they have actually committed, and very frequently too ; for the Cymbrians and Scythians are generally found blended together ; and not only they, but all the inhabitants of the northern regions, which included the vast country of the Sarmatians, were called Scythians.*

In fact, the term Scythian was used in so vague a manner, that we may almost deem it to have the same indefinite meaning as barbarian, in many instances. In its strict sense it certainly should be appropriated to the various colonies of the Cuthites, Meropians, or Amonians, who were dispersed over all parts of the world. Thus we find a country called

* Strabo's Geogr. Book ii.

Scythia in Egypt; another in Syria; another in the northern parts of Asia Minor; and a widely extended region of the same name, lying upon the ocean of India;* but in speaking of the Scythians of the North, we are to understand those who extended in that direction from the shores of the Euxine,† being a combination of a vast number of tribes of one common origin, from whom were derived the different nations, who in after ages composed the mighty empire of the Goths.

In consequence of this improper use of the appellation, many great events are recorded as forming a part of the history of the Scythians, which were in reality achieved partly by the people properly so called, partly by the Cymbrians, and the Sarmatians. And it is remarkable, that this obscurity began to be dispelled only so late as the time of Pliny; for he notices, that the name of Scythian was every where changing to that of Sarmatians and Germans.‡ The fact is, that as the name was found to be used so indiscriminately, it was disused, as the different people to whom it had been applied became more known; but hardly anything was known of the Sarmatians, besides the name, even to the end of the second century of our era.

The identity of the proper Scythians and the Getes or Goths is a fact so satisfactorily established, that we shall suppose any discussion upon that head superfluous. It would therefore be foreign to the

* Bryant's Mythology, vol. iii. p. 143.

† Strabo's Geogr. book ii. 744.

‡ Pliny, book iv. chap. 12.

intention of the present treatise to enter into the detail of Gothic history, otherwise than to discriminate between the various branches of that people, and those of the Cymbric race. To accomplish that, however, it will be of use to keep in view the following outline of the first progress of the Goths through Germany, until they reached the north-west shores of the Continent.

It has been already observed, that the first influx into Europe, was that of the Cymbrians, under whatever local appellations they might have been distinguished; and that the proper Scythians followed, and made the countries round the northern shores of the Euxine their parental settlement for some ages. From this hive proceeded immense swarms in various directions; but the most formidable was that which began to move westward, under the name of Getes, the main body of which penetrated the heart of the country, between the Danube and the Borysthenes, and in its progress formed the great nation of the Basternians. This people, about a century before the Christian era, extended from south to north, over a country five hundred miles in length, from the Danube and the mountains of Carpathia to the Baltic; and upwards of a hundred and fifty in breadth, from the river Vistula on the west to the Chronus and Borysthenes eastward,* and it may be in a manner considered as the nucleus, from which the different German nations gradually expanded themselves, till in process of time they covered the west of Europe.

* Strabo, book vii. p. 305.

It is observable, that the Getes or Goths, by thus pressing westward in such a vast body, left so few, if any, of their race in the primary seat of their empire, that the country was thereupon overflowed by the pressure of surrounding tribes, the Sarmatic and other nations.

Of all the advances made by the original Scythians, into this part of the world, that was by far the most important. It was the only movement of sufficient extent to preserve their language predominant over that of the first inhabitants. The scattered colonies, who settled in Greece, Italy, and other countries lying upon the Mediterranean sea, were not of sufficient magnitude individually to produce the same effect, for they became mixed with the natives, by which means theirs formed the component parts of the languages of those countries only in an inferior degree. The characteristic features of it still remained Cymbric, as may be indubitably proved, by making a comparison of the various dialects.

Let us now recur to the Cymbrians, of whose progression over Europe, nothing can be advanced to particularize the various events which must have occurred, so as to mark the periods of their different migrations ; for the whole was accomplished a considerable time previous to the commencement of credible history. All that remains to be done, therefore, is, in the first place, to exhibit from the store of ancient authorities, the localities where their name was preserved ; and in the next we shall be able to adduce some conclusive proofs to discriminate them, by examining the languages of their posterity.

The first scene of Cymbric story presents the rear of the late colonies, who moved into Europe, stationed upon the confines of Asia. They give it their name; it is called the Cimmerian Bosphorus, on which stood Cimmerium, their chief city. They were losing ground here, owing to the pressure of the Scythians; but those who had advanced into the Tauric Chersonese, were able, from the security of their situation, to maintain it some time longer. However, about six hundred and forty years before Christ, they were no longer in a condition to withstand the torrent. Being ejected thence they were dispersed, and one body of them made its way over the mountains of Caucasus, back into Asia, where they committed dreadful ravages.*

Owing to the want of documents, we are not able to find another locality to which the Cymbrians gave their name, until we traverse the Continent to the western shores, where we find the Cimbric Chersonese, the Si-Cambri upon the Rhine, and the Cymry in Britain; but from the notices we have of the people appearing under this name, there can be little doubt of their country's being named after them, throughout their progress, wherever situated. It was the general and common denomination of the whole collective body, in all times and places, being

* Herodotus, book i. & iv. Diodor. Siculus, book ii. Ptolemy places the Chamarians and Comarians as two distinct nations, though originally the same, the one in Bactria along the south banks of the Oxus, and the latter a little further north in the province of Sogdiana. Book vi. c. 11 and 13. From the similarity of the names, we may suppose they were Cymbrians.

the primeval name which carried the note of their descent from the origin of their line. They possessed many other names descriptive of their locality and mode of living; but the most general of these were the epithets of Galli and Celtæ, and when they overran Greece and Asia, they appear to have been equally denominated Galli, Celtæ, Cimmerii or Cimbri;* they must have therefore carried these names into all the countries that they conquered.

No satisfactory explanation has hitherto been given of the appellation of Cymbrian; at least none to which we can by any means accede. Writers of weight and respectability, have generally agreed in deriving it from Gomer, the son of Japhet. In so doing, they have appealed to the Welsh, who call themselves Cymry, thereby allowing that they and the Cymbrians mentioned in history are one people. This proves that these writers considered the word as of the Welsh language, consequently the structure of it should be agreeable to the genius of that tongue, which they have asserted to be the fact from its known principle of literal mutations. It is true that the people alluded to call themselves Cymry; it is also true, there is such a system of mutation;

* The Celtæ, who are called Cimbri, says Appian, encamped against Delphi, P. 1196. *Amstel.*—Speaking of the Teutones and Cimbri, Plutarch says, that the Cimmerii were first known to the Greeks in former ages. Vol. ii. p. 495. *Bryan.*—The Gauls, says Diodorus, who in ancient times overran all Asia, were denominated Cimmerii. P. 355.—The Galatæ of the Greeks, says Josephus, were formerly called Gomarians. *Antiq.* Lib. i. c. 7. Whitaker's *Genuine History of the Britons*, p. 52.

but it is true too, that all the changes which occur, are governed by perfectly regular principles upon which the construction of the language depends, and that any change like that of Gymry into Cymru, is directly contrary to those principles, and there is not a single anomaly to be produced to sanction that in the present instance. But Cymry would regularly change into Gymry, and so do all words of the same initial change according as they are governed in construction; and this probably may be the reason why Josephus has Gomarians instead of Comarians, as the name might have reached him under a peculiar mode of expression; and he is the only author, we believe, who has it in this form.* In looking for a word in a language, it would be natural to enquire for the general acceptation of it, independently of its being used in an appropriated sense as the name of a people; for all words in an original tongue have such general import.† The word Cymry will admit of a rational etymology, in the language of the people who call themselves so; consequently, that is of sufficient weight to identify it as pertaining to that tongue, and therefore as being formed upon its prin-

* Thus *Cymry* in the absolute is Cymbrians; *o Gymry*, of Cymbrians; *a Chymry*, and Cymbrians.

† In languages which, like the English, have largely borrowed from others, many names can have no signification, except being a mere absolute and appropriated term, such as are *Britain*, and *Cymbria*, in the same tongue; but in that from which they are derived, they have general acceptations besides. So would an Englishman say, if a foreigner asked for the meaning of *Highlanders* or *Lowlanders*; because those appellations are formed from simple words in his own language.

ciples. That signification then is literally *those of the first race*, and more indefinitely the *first people*. We will not pretend to assert, that this appellation was adopted by the Cymbrians, as considering themselves descended from the elder branch of the first family after the flood, or that it was assumed in consequence of their being the first colonies in Europe, it will readily admit of either interpretation. These premises duly considered, evince that it is quite a wrong supposition, that the Cymbrians should have been so called from Gomer; indeed it is questionable, whether any nation upon earth has adopted a patronymic name, which can be proved to be derived from its first individual founder.

In addition to the general or patronymic name, as has been already observed, the different tribes or colonies had other appellations, descriptive of either their situation or their manner of life. These secondary names might, among some tribes, become so universal, that the other in process of time might appear obsolete. This seems to have been the case in Gaul properly so called; where the two appellations of Gâl and Celt prevailed; both descriptive of the different habits of life prevalent amongst that people. The nation appears to have been divided into two classes; the Galli being those who lived in the open plains and pursued agriculture; and the Celts, those who dwelt in the coverts or woods and lived chiefly by hunting. The former class would possess more physical power than the other; it would gain the ascendancy, and be of the most consequence

in the eyes of other nations. Hence, the name of Gaul rose superior to that of Celt, and the latter gradually died away, and became an adjective indicating that part of Gaul in which the habits peculiar to it prevailed the most. Thus, the proper Gauls having so disused the patronymic appellative, it may be naturally concluded, that whatever irruption they might make into other countries, it was generally noticed by the historian under their popular name of Gaul, and never simply under the general and indigenous appellation of Cymbrians.

The irruptions made by the Cymbrians, mentioned by Roman writers, were from the north. This will lead us to enquire for the country able to pour out such vast bodies of men to harass the Romans and other nations. Surely nobody will say they issued from that insignificant spot alone called the Cimbric Chersonese; even if it were an emigration of the whole people, which possibly, however, might have been the case, when that great movement took place, a little better than a century before Christ, owing to the pressure of the Gothic nations. For, in the time of Tacitus, their remains were reduced to a small tribe in the south-west corner of the country, near the mouth of the Elbe. It is to be observed, that prior to that period, the country of the northern Cymbrians had been disconnected by the progress of the Basternians towards the Baltic, and over into Scandinavia, so that the Cimbric Chersonese, and the coast down to the Elbe, being their western extremity, was become in a manner insulated from the main body of the nation which extended to the

Euxine eastward. About the same period, most probably, the confederacy of the Saxons, who were another ramification of the Basternians, or under whatever name the Goths might appear most formidable in their first progress, had also gained an ascendancy in their neighbourhood on the south, and possessed the sea coast from the mouth of the same river to the borders of Belgia.

But it is a curious circumstance, that the remains of the Cymbrians are to be found at the end of the eighteenth century in the island of Britain, and in Wenden, on the eastern side of the separation so made by the Gothic people in their progress into Scandinavia. This nation of the Wendi is now situated in Upper Lusatia, extending to the north and east of Dresden. They are still a perfectly distinct people, but they diminish gradually in extent; for they reached up to the shores of the Baltic about 200 years ago; and they are doubtless a remnant of the ancient tribes of Æstii, Gothini, and Venedi. They are detached from the main body of their original race, the Poles, by a considerable extent of country; therefore it is very remarkable that they should have so long preserved their Slavonic dialect, insulated as they are in the midst of the Germans. These separated nations are as it were the detached links of that vast chain of Cymbrians who originally covered Europe; broken, it is true, on the south side in very early times, but to the northward we find them more entire.

What an immense scene is opened here to the observing mind! It shows the Sarmatians and the

Cymbrians to be one people. And it is a very extraordinary instance of the slow progress of this kind of investigation, that it commenced centuries ago, and yet a point of such importance has been left after all to be announced through a medium so obscure as that which now presents itself to the reader.

This discovery will bring to our view the great portion of Europe still inhabited by the Cymbrians, under whatever particular appellation any people descended from that race may be now called : whether those who speak the Slavonic, the Irish, or the Welsh dialect. It may serve as a clue also to the historian, and lead him through many intricacies and difficulties in which he would otherwise be lost ; and such a fact will be with the philosopher the strongest evidence to induce him to withstand the current notion of the instability of speech. For no stronger elucidation can be brought, with respect to either of these points, than that nations, separated for the greater moiety of the age of the world, should respectively preserve the same language through all the vicissitudes of time.

In order to attain a more correct idea of the origin of the different people inhabiting Europe, it will be of use to consider the following classification of the various dialects under their respective parental tongues, according to the identity of their grammar, structure, and nomenclature.—I. THE CYMBRIAN.
1. Slavonic. 2. Polish. 3. Moscovite. 4. Novazemblian. 5. Bohemian. 6. Dalmatian. 7. Croatic. 8. Bulgarian. 9. Servian. 10. Carniolan. 11. Vandalic. 12. Wendish. 13. Waldensic. 14. Irish. 15.

Mankish. 16. Cornish. 17. Armoric or Breton. 18. Welsh.—II. THE GOTHIC. 1. Runic. 2. Teutonic. 3. German. 4. Dutch. 5. Swedish. 6. Danish. 7. Norwegian. 8. Icelandic. 9. Anglo-Saxon. 10. Orcadian. 11. English.—III. THE FINNIC. 1. Lapponic. 2. Livonian. 3. Courlandic. 4. Esthonian. 5. Lithuanian. 6. Pomeranian. 7. Werulian. 8. Prussian. 9. Hungarian.—IV. THE MIXED. 1. Greek. 2. Modern Greek. 3. Latin. 4. Italian. 5. Spanish. 6. French. 7. Portuguese. 8. Walachian. 9. Walloon.—V. IBERIAN. Cantabrig. By a close examination of the different dialects of the Cymbric tongue, we discover some circumstances deserving of particular attention, as they may lead to very important conclusions.

1. Between some of the dialects, there exists a certain characteristic analogy, creating an uniform difference from some others. 2. The Welsh, Cornish and Breton, have an uniform agreement with one another, in grammar, structure, and nomenclature. 3. The various dialects of the Slavonic have the same agreement with each other. 4. The Waldensic, Irish, Erse and Mankish, have also their peculiar uniformity of character. 5. The Welsh and Slavonic have more of a common characteristic semblance with each other than with the Irish, and those classed with it. 6. Of the Welsh, Cornish and Breton, the two latter are most alike. 7. Of all the dialectical differences of the Welsh, those that occur in the southern parts of Wales agree most with the Cornish. 8. The Cornish approaches nearer than either of those classed with it to the Irish. 9. The Irish has the greatest affinity of structure to the Latin

of any. 10. The Breton has more words than the Welsh in common with the Saxon. 11. The language of the ancient Belgæ of Gaul and of Britain, had more than the Welsh of the Irish structure.

From the preceding analysis of the Cymbric tongue, a general deduction may be made to the following effect:—That the Slavonic dialects were spoken by the descendants of the first colonists, who migrated northward from Armenia, and were known under the name of Sarmatians. The proper Cymbric belonged to those who moved in a westerly direction over Europe, of which the Welsh, Cornish and Breton, are the most immediate remains; and the Irish, with its branches, belonged to a people who continued for a greater length of time on the Continent in the neighbourhood of that second influx of men from the Scythic dispersion; and the Irish are more immediately a part of the same nation, which went under the name of Ligurians, in Cisalpine Gaul, proper Belgians, and the Belgians, or Loegrians of Britain.

CHAPTER V.

The first settlement of Britain, and by what race of men.

IN the preceding chapter we have sketched out the general progress of the primary colonies of men over Europe; and the relative situations of the different parent nations, as they appeared when history was introduced among them. Let us now direct our views to that particular epoch, when the fair and towering aspect of Britain welcomed its first visitors.

There are many reasons to induce us to support the position, that the west of Europe was, in some degree, inhabited by adventurous tribes of men, a few ages, or about two hundred years, subsequent to their general dispersion from the region in which they had been collectively recruited after the deluge. The settlement of different countries did not take place, as some have illustrated it, upon the uniform principle of the circular expansion of the wave; on the contrary, all that can be gathered of the nature of the migrations of mankind shews, that it depended immediately upon the circumstances arising from the nature of the situation, and the facility of travelling; thus, the course of a great river claimed the highest consideration in every point of view.* Judging generally from the foregoing premises, may we conclude, that the shores of the continent, opposite to Britain, were some of the first regions westward that were explored by the active spirit of man, and consequently the island itself, very soon after, must have excited his curiosity.

It has been already explained, that the Cymbrians

* For the elucidation of this matter, we have only to turn our view to America. There we find, that notwithstanding the paucity of inhabitants in the United States, new settlements are made, detached by immense wilds, and this too at the risk of being molested by other people, the original natives of the country, jealous of every encroachment upon their territory. This may be still more remarkably illustrated by the roving disposition of the back-settlers; amongst whom it is well known, that frequently a single family, with its live and dead stock, will quit the old habitation; having the accommodation of a covered waggon, and thus traverse some hundreds of miles, in search of a more inviting abode.

were the people who primarily spread over Europe, under every diversity of appellation they might have adopted; whether Gauls, Celts, Belgians.* Picts, Gwyddels, Scots, Loegrians, or Gwentians.† After the first influx of the Cymbrians into Britain, others successively followed to participate in its bounty. Seven of these migrations are recorded to have taken place during that period over which time has thrown a veil. For the memorial of them, we are indebted to the fidelity of the system of the bardic tradition, but as these colonies are ambiguously denominated by figurative appellations, nothing further can be made out than simply, that so many events did occur.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the names of Britain, and of its divisions.

THE Historical Triads attribute to Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, the honour of being the leader of one of those subsequent colonies who arrived in Britain, and of giving it his own name, instead of that of Honey Island, which it bore till then, from the time of its first settlement;‡ for the Cymbrians gave

* The Cymbrians of the north, or the Sarmatians, were also called Belgians or *Belcæ*, as Mela writes the name.

† Variouslly written, Veneti, Venedi, Wendi, Ventians.

‡ There is a Triad recording the three most ancient names of Britain; and as it is a curious fragment of history, it is given here at length:—*Tri henw yr Ynys hon; y cyntav, cyn ei chy-fanneddu y gelwid hi Clás Merddin (Meitin); wedi ei chyran-*

to their new country several names characteristic of some qualities which appeared beautiful, or pleasing to the mind; but some of them, perhaps, ought to be considered more as poetical epithets, than as fixed appellations. Such, we may conclude, were *Ynys y cedeirn*, or the island of the mighty ones; and *Yr Ynys Wen*, or *Y Wen Ynys*, the White Island, otherwise the fair Island, according to the derivative import of the word.

However, the name which has had pre-eminence amongst the natives, as well as among foreign nations in all ages, is *Ynys Prydain*, or the Beautiful Island. There is nothing in this appellation that favours the probability or improbability of its being so called by the person before mentioned; for the epithet, *Prydain*, may be applied to a man, as well as to a place. If it were bestowed by him, it lessened, in some degree, the vanity of possessing so flattering a title himself. There have been many extraordinary guesses as to the etymology of Britain. But it is a very singular occurrence, that not one has laid aside this humour for guessing, and taken the trouble of enquiring whether the name were used in the language of the original natives; and it is fully as unaccountable, that not a single individual amongst the Welsh themselves, till very lately, has

neddu y gelwid hi y Fel Ynys; a gwedi ei goresgyn o Brydain mab Aedd Mawr ydodes arni Ynys Prydain. The three names of this island: the first before it was inhabited, it was called the water-guarded green spot; after it was inhabited, it was called the Honey Island; and after its subjection to Prydain the son of Aedd Mawr, he gave it the name of the Isle of Prydain.

thought of making it known to the world, though it is one of their most common words as to both composition and import.* The Welsh, then, having such a word derived from a simple root very familiar, other nations can only have it as an absolute name, which they have borrowed, and which to them is destitute of all signification. We must therefore recur to that language in which it originates, in order to be informed of its meaning. *Prydain* is an epithet, the same as *Prydus*, denoting a *plenitude of sightliness, presence or beauty*. It is derived from *Pryd*, the *presence, aspect or sight*, which is also applied to time, as the present: and the adjective termination, *Ain*, implies *teeming with*, being most generally used in the names of places.

In order to illustrate this subject still more, it is proper to remark, that agreeably to a regular system of literal mutation peculiar to the Welsh language, the initial of *Prydain* has three different inflections, as may be thus exemplified: *Brenin Prydain*, the king of Britain; *eis o Brydain*, I went from Britain; *ym Mhrydain*, in Britain; *Ywerddon a Phrydain*, Ireland and Britain. To those who are unacquainted with the principles of this mutation of letters, it would be augmenting the difficulties, perhaps, to enter into anything short of a complete explanation of it; but as that would be foreign

* The true meaning of Britain is given in vol. ii. p. 42, of *Poems Lyric and Pastoral*, by Edward Williams, London, 1794, and in page 21 of the Introduction to the *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hên*, by William Owen, (Dr. Owen Pughe,) London, 1794.

to the intention of the plan sketched out, we must proceed, observing therefore, that what is here touched upon will serve as an intimation of the different appearances of the same word, and of those different appearances not occurring without cause.

We will next proceed to elucidate the names of the three grand divisions, into which the island was politically and naturally divided. These are Lloegyr, Alban, and Cymru, or England, Scotland, and Wales. The first was denominated Lloegyr, on account of its being the seat of the Lloegrwys, or Loegrians, which can be no other than the Belgæ, a colony that came over long after the original settlement of the island; that is, about three hundred years before our era. As this appellation belonged exclusively to them, it must have been extended gradually, as the events of conquest took place on the bordering tribes. But it was owing to much later contingencies, that it was applied in the latitude in which it is now taken. In consequence of the great change which occurred from the sway of the Romans, but not before the close of that period, the name included all the country to the Humber northward, and to the Severn on the west; and it was not applied as England is under its present acceptance, until the Saxons were concentrated under one monarchy. Though the name is used for the country subject to that dominion, yet it is never applied to the Saxons themselves, or to any people save the Belgæ; for the different nations which came to the island afterwards, beginning with the Romans, and so onward, were denominated by their proper appel-

lations of Rhomani, or Rhuveiniaid, Eingyl, Saeson Llychlynigion, and Nortmyn. In giving the definition of this name, there may be a doubt whether we should not consider it primarily as the family title of the people, and not applicable to the country, except in its derived sense: for it may be taken in either way. Be it so or otherwise, the general meaning is,—*that aboundeth with light or fairness of aspect.*

The northern part of the island was generally called Alban, but very frequently it was also denominated Prydyn; and sometimes the appellation of a particular nation was applied to the whole. The former name implies literally the high region; or it may be rendered the *upper region*. There may be a doubt whether, agreeably to the first idea, it was so called from its high mountains, or whether the epithet might have been bestowed figuratively, in allusion to its upper or northern position. Various places are found to have possessed the same denomination, and to have answered to it in description. The whole of Britain had it in the earlier periods of its discovery, from the conspicuous appearances of the towering cliffs on the coast nearest to the continent; and it was converted into Albion by the Greek writers. The other name of Prydyn, having a masculine form, is of the same meaning as Prydain, which is feminine; there being no difference but in the gender, which is discriminated by the terminations.

We have already explained Cymru, and shewn it to have been the general or patronymic name of the whole race, consequently it could not have been confined to the present Wales, until the different

branches of the same people ceased to be recognized elsewhere. The universality of the appellation, accounts for its not coming under the observation of the Romans, as given to that particular country. Their enquiry would lead to a discovery of the names of the particular tribes, amongst whom the country was divided; and the result of a similar research at the present day would be to find the same appellation still exactly preserved.

The names of the subdivisions, or the different petty states, into which the island was parcelled out come next under our notice. These are very numerous, and it may be remarked, that they are generally of greater antiquity than those of the first class are with respect to locality. This part of our discussion is attended with considerable difficulties, as the names are not preserved in the tongue which imposed them, and are therefore to be found only in the writings of foreign authors, necessarily disguised and accommodated to the peculiar characters of the languages used by them. For their being handed down to us, we are chiefly indebted to the Romans; and it is but justice to remark, that they excelled all other people in the world, ancient and modern, in correctly ascertaining the sound of strange words. Whatever alterations they made in them were agreeable to a regular system. In this they have not been imitated by other nations, certainly not by the English; for the names on the best English maps of Wales are, in numerous instances, much more disfigured, than in such as have been handed down to us from those more ancient times.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the ancient divisions of Britain, and the names of the various tribes, by which it was inhabited.

THE three grand divisions of Lloegyr, Cymru, and Alban, or England, Wales, and Scotland, properly so called, did not exist before the Roman conquest, for to that event their origin must be attributed, though it was not fully developed before the Saxon period. Originally each division was contented to have the natural barriers of the country, the courses of rivers, mountains, and forests for the limits of its territory; and perhaps in no instance did several of the British tribes unite under one government for any considerable length of time, or bear a common name. To each district its inhabitants gave some appellation that was characteristic of its appearance; however, influenced by the prevailing partiality to a native spot, it generally conveyed an idea of what was fair, pleasant, or beautiful.

The whole number of tribes, or of independent states was about forty-five, at the coming of the Romans into the island. Their names, a little disguised by a foreign orthography, were the following:—Cantii, Regni, Bibroces, Attrebates, Segontiaci, Belgæ, Durotriges, Hædui, Carnabii, Damnonii, Silures, Ordovices, Dimetæ, Trinobantes, Icenii, Coritani, Cassii, Dobuni, Huiccii, Ancalites, Carnabii, Sistuntii, Volantii, Brigantes, Ottadini, Gadeni, Selgovæ, Novantes, Damnii, Horrestii, Vectu-

rones, Taixali, Vacomagi, Albani, Attacotti, Caledoni, Cantæ, Logi, Carnabii, Catini, Mertæ, Carnonacæ, Cerones, Creones, Epidii.

The situation of the different tribes, and the meaning of their names.*

I. The CANTII inhabited the present county of Kent, being bounded by the Thames on the north, and the Lemanus or Rother on the west; and their capital town was Durovernum, Cantiopolis or Canterbury.

They called their country *Caint*, an aggregate noun from *Cain*, *fair*, open, being descriptive of its general appearance consisting of fair or open valleys and slopes, and the appellation is common in Wales for regions that are like it; and this derivation is corroborated by the Welsh calling Canterbury the city of Caint. They might have called themselves Ceinti, Ceintiaid, Ceintion, Ceintwyr, Ceintwys, Ceintwyson, and Gwyr Caint; or they could change Caint into Ceintwg, and Ceintog, and name themselves Ceintygi, Ceintygiaid, Ceintygion, Ceintygwyr, Ceintygwys, Gwyr Ceintwg, or Ceintogi, Ceintogiaid, Ceintogion, and Ceintogwys; So flexible is the British language in its nature, and at the same time so regular in its modifications.

II. The REGNI resided in Surry and Sussex; and Regnum, Regentium, or Chichester appears from its name to have been their metropolis. This people inhabited a region very similar in appearance to

* This rests mostly upon the accuracy of Mr. Whitaker.

Kent, and the name was the same with the discriminative prefix Rhy, implying the foremost or further Cantii; for thus would the name be formed, Rhygeinni, Rhygeinniaid, Rhygeinnion, Rhygeinnwys, and Gwyr Rhygaint; or without the mutation of the last letter, Rhygainti, Rhygeintiaid, Rhygeintion, Rhygeintwys, and Gwyr Rhygaint; also thus from Rhygeinnwg, Rhygeinnog, Rhygeintwg, and Rhygeintog, Rhygeinnygi, Rhygeinnygiaid, Rhygeinnygion, Rhygeinnygwys, Gwyr Rhygeinnwg, Rhygeinnygi, Rhygeintygiaid, Rhygeintygion, Rhygeintygwys, Gwyr Rhygeintwg, or Rhygeintogi, Rhygeintogiaid, Rhygeintogion, Rhygeintogwys, and Gwyr Rhygeintog.

III. The BIBROCES, or Rhemi, occupied the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, from the Lodden on the west, to the Thames on the east, and had Bibroicum, Bibracte or Bray, for their capital.

This people inhabited a district covered with tufts of wood, brakes or thickets, as the name would imply, if derived from Pau a region, or country, and Brôg a brake or thicket, that is, Pau Brôg, thicket country; or compounded—Peuvrog, braky region; *Y Beuvrog*, the braky region; thence the inhabitants would be denominated Y BEUVROGWYS, Peuvrogi, Peuvrogiad, Peuvrogwyr, and Gwyr Pau Brôg. I am the more inclined to suppose that the above derivation is right, as the other name of Rhemi implies nearly the same thing.

IV. The ATTREBATES occupied nearly all the western parts of Berkshire, were bounded by the Lodden on the south-east, the curving bank of the

Thames on the north-west and west, and the hills of East-Illesley, Lambourne, and Ashbury, on the south ; and had Calliva or Wallingford for their chief city. — Their name is thus to be accounted for : Attrev and Attrevad describe a habitation bordering upon any range of hills, woods, or a river, which was the case with respect to this people. Their country being so denominated, they would call themselves, ATTREVATI, Attreviaid, Attrevigion, Attrevwys, Attrevatiaid, Attrevatwys, Attreviadon, and Gwyr Attrev.

V. The SEGONTIACI inhabited a little of the south of Berkshire, west of the Lodden, about the banks of the Kennet, and the adjoining north of Hampshire ; and their principal town was Vindomis, Vindonum, or Silchester. It seems that their country was called Isgwent, Isgwentwg, or Isgwentog, that is the lower Venta, the *G* being not mutable in this form of construction, therefore the Romans preserved it in this name ; for had the *Is* [lower] been not prefixed, but separately pronounced, *Is wentogi*, then we should have had the name written *Seventiaci*. The people called themselves *Isgwenti*, *Isgwentiaid*, *Isgwention*, *Isgwentwyr*, *Isgwentwys*, *Gwyr Isgwent*, *Gwyr Gwent isav*, or *Gwyr y went isav*, and *Isgwentgygi*, *Isgwentgygiaid*, *Isgwentygion*, *Isgwentygwys*, *Isgwentwyson*, *Isgwennwyson*, *Gwyr Isgwentwg*, and also *Isgwentogi*, *Isgwentogiaid*, *Isgwentogion*, *Isgwentogwys*, *Isgwennwys*, *Isgwennwyson*, *Isgwennwysiad*, and *ISGWENTIOGI*, all implying the Lower Gwentians distinguished from the proper country of Gwent, which was occupied by the Belgæ.

VI. The BELGÆ had all Hampshire, except the

northern part, occupied by the Segontiaci, and all Wiltshire, save a small district on the north-west ; and had Venta Belgarum, Caer Went, or Winchester for their capital ; and their country was the proper Gwent, or Y Went, a name descriptive of the open downs with which it abounded.

This people having recently come over to Britain, and differing considerably in their manners and language from the other tribes, the Romans distinguished all the inhabitants of the Island under the two divisions of Aborigines and Belgæ. The former had migrated from the continent at various times in the first ages of the population of Europe, and were the unmixed Cymbrians. The Belgæ began to come over nearly three centuries before Cæsar's invasion, and were likewise of Cymbric origin, but had necessarily been neighbours for a long time to the Teutonic nations ; and must have consequently undergone a considerable degree of intermixture ; as was the case in similar instances with the continental Cymbrians in general, and the effect is singularly evident amongst the Celtic people of Greece and Italy in particular.

The Belgæ were driven over into Britain, probably by the pressure of the German tribes on their borders. Their progress in the island may be plainly marked out along its southern coast to Devonshire, and thence onward over into Ireland. That island was then but thinly peopled, and its few inhabitants must have come from different points of the opposite coast of Britain, in consequence of

too great a population; and this fact is exactly corroborated by historical documents, as well as by many ancient traditions in Wales.

The Belgæ had not long been settled in Ireland before they became the most powerful people there, from the greater union and energy of their political economy; and the original tribes, who lived in the woods by hunting, and by tending their flocks, and who were generally called Gwddyl, Ysgoti, Ysgotiaid, and Ysgodogion, or woodlanders, became in a great measure absorbed in the mass of new comers. The original characteristic of the dialect, till then purely Celtic, gave way to that of the Belgic; and under this form the colonies who came over to Scotland planted it there, where it still remains, whilst the original language of that country has been gradually lost, partly in the Irish-Belgic, but more extensively in the Saxon dialect.

A regular investigation and comparison of different languages strongly confirm what is above adduced; and it is very observable that all the names of men and places among the Belgic Britons, which are preserved, are according to the Irish idiom and principles of orthography, and not according to those of the Welsh. For example, in some manuscripts the Isle of Sheppey is called Ennis Vliocht, or the Isle of Milk, which in Welsh would be written Ynys Vlith; Vortigern would be so written in Irish, or with letters which would give the same sound, but the name in Welsh is Gortheryn, and all the old manuscripts have it so; Vortimer is also written

Gorthevyr in the Welsh ; and other instances might be produced in support of this point. Further, the Irish discovers a nearer affinity than the Welsh to the Latin, although the Romans were settled in Britain for so long a period. The Latin and Irish have also several letters in common, which I deem of Teutonic origin, differing from the corresponding sounds in the Welsh : the chief of which are *s*, *v*, and *ct* in the former languages, for *h*, *g*, and *th* in the latter, as might be proved by many hundred words. The meaning of the word Belgæ seems to be preserved in the Welsh : Belg implies that which breaks out, makes irruption, or ravages ; so Belgau, Belgiaid, Belgwyr, Belgwys, and Gwyr Belg, might be rendered irraptors, depredators, ravagers, or warriors.

VII. The DUROTRIGES, or Morini, lived in Dorsetshire, and had Durinum, Durnovaria, or Dorchester for their capital.

Both these names are purely Welsh, and nearly of the same meaning, as the former implies dwellers on the water, that is, Dwrodigwys, from *dwr*, water, and *trigo*, to abide or dwell ; and the other, Morini, the maritime people ; from *Morin*, maritime, and the common plural termination for people ; or the name might be also formed Moriniaid, Morinion, Morinwyr, Morinwys, Merini, Meriniaid, Merinion, Merinwys. They might be likewise called Dwrini, Dwriniaid, Dwrinion, Dwrinwys ; and their capital might be named Caer Dwrin, Din Dwrin, and Dwrin-ewwr, which would account for the two appellations of Durinum and Durnovaria.

The Morini are mentioned in a poem by Taliesin, called his Primary Gratulation, in these words :

*Dytoent guarthvor
Guytveirch dyarvor
Eingyl yn cynghor :
Guelator arnytion
Guyniaeth ar Saeson
O ruyvanusion
Bytaud pen Seiron,
Rhag Fichti leuon,
Morini Brython.*

“ Upon the sea there would be coming the wooden wafters full of the tumult of the Angles in counsel : signs are seen, boding the rage of the Saxons. Of those that are wont to lead, let Seiron be the head, against the Lion Picts, of the Morini Britons.”

VIII. The HÆDUI had all Somersetshire to the estuary Uxella, Bridgewater Bay, or the river Ivel on the south ; the south-west of Gloucestershire, to the hills of Wotton-under-Edge ; and the north-west of Wiltshire to the Avon and Creeklade.

The Welsh call the country of this people now Gwlad yr Hâv, or the country of Summer ; and Havwys, Heiviaid, Heivion, and Gwyr Gwlad yr Hâf, would be the name of the people, which is probably the original of Hædui ; unless their country was noted for its honey and mead, for then the people might be named Heidwys, Heidiaid, Heidwyon, and Heidionwys, from *Haid*, a swarm, and generally appropriated to a swarm of bees.

IX. The DAMNONII had the small portion of Somersetshire, which is east of the Thone, and the parts lying south and west of the Ivel and Bridgewater Bay,

all Devonshire, and the north part of Cornwall to the Tamar river.*

The original name of Devonshire is Dyvnaint, and is very frequently mentioned in the old writings of Wales; it implies the deeps or hollows, which is very descriptive of the country. The people would then be called Dyvneinni, Dyvneinniaid, Dyvneinion, Dyvneinnwyr, Dyvneinnwys, or Dyvneinti, Dyvneintiaid, Dyfneintion, Dyfneintwys, and Gwyr Dyvnaint; or they might be called Dyfni, Dyvnaiad, Dyvnoni, Dyfnonwyr, Dyvnonwys, and Dyvnwys, all implying the inhabitants of the glens, or deep valleys, which last class of words is the origin of the appellation of Damnii, synonymous with Damnonii.

X. The CARNABII possessed all Cornwall, except a small part to the north of the Tamar.

The name for Cornwall is Cernyw, and it implies a projecting ridge or slope, and also a promontory, and in the last sense it became the name of this country. The inhabitants were called Cernywi, Cernywiaid, Cernywion, Cernywir, Cernywwys,

* Mr. Whitaker attempts to trace out the situation of a people called the Cimbri, in that part of Somersetshire lying south of the Ivel and Bridgewater Bay, and along the north of Cornwall (omitting, perhaps from oversight, the intermediate north coast of Devonshire) as far as the river Cambala, Camel, or Padstow Harbour. From the fact that the name given to this tribe is the patronymic common to all the Britons, and from the confusion respecting this district in the old geographers, I am induced to consider that there were no people here who went peculiarly under the appellation of Cimbri, but that the Damnonii and Carnabii bordered upon each other about the place traced out above.

Cernywwyson, and Gwyr Cernyw, or the men of the promontory.

The above ten nations inhabited the Britannia Prima of the Romans, being that part of the island lying south of the Thames and the Severn, and a line drawn from Creeklade on the former to Berkeley on the latter.

I. The SILURES inhabited the counties of Hereford, Radnor, Monmouth, and Glamorgan,* to the river Neath on the west, and the small portion of Gloucestershire, which is to the west of the Severn, having Venta Silurum, or Caer Went, in Monmouthshire, for their metropolis.

The Britons called the country of this people by two names, which are as nearly as can be synonymous, Esyllwg and Gwent. For Esyllwg, Esyllyr, Brø Esyllt, Gwlad Esyllt, Syllwg, and Syllyr, were indiscriminately used, all implying an open country of downs, abounding with prospects. But the appellations of Gwent, Gwentwg, Bro Went, and Gwlad Went, were the most generally used, or at least have been so lately. The names of the people were Gwyr Esyllwg, Gwyr Esyllyr, Gwyr Bro Esyllt, Gwyr Gwlad Esyllt, Gwyr Syllwg, Gwyr Syllyr, Esyllgyi, Esyllgyiaid, Esyllgyion, Esyllgywyr, Esyllgywys, Esyllgywyson, Esyllryi, Esyllryiaid, Esyllryion, Esyllryrwr, Esyllryrws, Esyllryrwyson, Syllgyi, Syllgyiaid, Syllgyion, Syllgywyr, Syllgywys, Syllgywyson, Syllryi, Syllryiaid, Syllryion, Syllryrwr, Syllryrws, and Syllryrwyson ; or Gwenti Gwentiaid, Gwention,

* Omitted by Mr. Whitaker.

Gwentwyr, Gwentwys, Gwentwyson, Gwyr Bro Went, Gwyr Gwlad Went, Gwenhi, Gwenhaid, Gwenhion, Gwenhwyr, Gwenhwys, and Gwenhwyson. Their language, or the Gwenhwyseg, was one of the three principal dialects of Wales. In it are written many of our old books, some of which are very valuable.

II. The DIMETÆ inhabited Pembrokeshire, Penvro Dyfed, or the proper Dimetia; Gower, now a part of Glamorganshire; and the whole of the counties of Caermarthen, Brecon, and Cardigan; and Mari-dunum, Caervyrddin, or Caermarthen, was their capital.

The Welsh name for the country comprehended in the above mentioned limits is Deheubarth, or Southernland; and Dyfed or Dimetia is used in a more contracted sense, being generally applied to Pembrokeshire alone. The language of this district, or the Deheubartheg, is one of the three chief dialects of the Welsh.

The name of Dyved, implies a region abounding with waters or streams; and it is very applicable, as the country extends into the seas, and Milford Haven likewise divides it nearly through the middle. The people may be called Dyvedi, Dyvediaid, Dyvedion, Dyvedwyr, Dyvedwys, Dyvedwyson, and Gwyr, Dyved; or, by inflection, Dyveidi, Dyveidiaid, Dyveidion, Dyveidwyr, Dyveidwys, and Dyveidwyson.

III. The ORDOVICES was the name by which the inhabitants of all the present North Wales was known to the Romans; and also as much of Shropshire as lay on that side of the Severn: and as a part of Cheshire

is said to have once belonged to them, it is probable that the Dee was their original boundary on that side.

I apprehend that the Ordovices were so denominated in allusion to their mountainous situation ; as from their primitive words, *Or* and *Ar*, are formed *Gor*, *Gorth*, *Gwar* *Gwarth*, *Gortho*, *Gwarthav*, *Gorthav*, *Gorthevig*, *Gorthevin*, *Gwarthevig*, and *Gwarthevin* ; and from *Gor* and *Tav*, are derived *Gordevig* and *Gordevin* ; and from *Ar* and *Tav* come *Ardevig*, *Ardevog*, and *Ardevin* ; and all these words are descriptive of a high or upper region. Out of these I select *Gordevig* as most analogous to *Ordovic*, for its initial is dropped under several forms of construction ; as, *Bro Ordevig*, a high extending country ; and thence the people would be called *Gordevigi*, *Gordevigiaid*, *Gordevigion*, *Gordevigwyr*, *Gordevigwys*, *Gordevigwyson*, and *Gwyr Bro Ordevig*, the *men of the higher country*, or *Highlanders*. The following phrase will shew the name without the initial :

Dyma Ordevigwys.

Here are *Ordovices*.

The *Ordovices* was a term for the mountaineers of North Wales in general, and not for any particular tribe ; most certainly the inhabitants were, at least, as much divided into small communities at the time when the Romans came amongst them, as they were in succeeding periods, when the names of several tribes appear in history. The two most comprehensive divisions of this country were *Gwynedd* and *Powys*, and each of these was parcelled out into

several petty states, acknowledging in latter ages, however, the princes of Gwynedd and Powys as their respective lords paramount.

The people of Gwyneda were called Gwyndyd, Gwyndodwyr, Gwyndodwys, Gwyneddiaid, Gwyneddion, Gwyneddwyr, Gwyneddwys, Gwyneddigiaid, Gwyneddigion, and Gwyr Gwynedd : those of Powys were denominated, Powysi, Powysiaid, Powyson, Powysion Powyswyr, and Gwyr Powys.

The Gwyndodeg, the language of the Venedoci, or the men of Gwynedd, was the third prevailing dialect amongst the Welsh.

The three nations above specified were comprised in the Britannia Secunda of the Romans.

I. The TRINOVANTES resided in the counties of Middlesex and Essex ; and Londinium, Tre Lundain, Caer Lundain, Lundain, Caer Ludd, or London, was their chief town.

They were so denominated from their situation on the great expanse of water, or lake, formed by the Thames, as were the Novantes in Scotland, from their dwelling in the peninsula and headland of Galloway. With respect to the etymology of the word, I am doubtful whether the prefix should be *Tre*, a town, or *Tra*, ultra or beyond ; the latter, perhaps, is preferable ; that is, the *inhabitants of the region beyond the water* ; as they must have had a denomination before the period when their town became of note ; and if that difficulty were surmounted, another would arise, for that town had a name, and that name was Tre Lundain, or Caer Lundain. The Britons would have called the *country beyond the*

stream, Tranovant, and the inhabitants would have the names of Tranovanti, Tranovantiaid, Tranovantion, Tranovantwyr, Tranovantwys, Tranovantwyson, and Gwyr Tranovant : or else, by the inflection of the word, Tranovanhi, Tranovanhiaid, Tranovanhon, Tranovanhwyr, Tranovanhwys, and Tranovanhwyson.

II. The ICENI, Cenimaghi, Cenomes, Cenomanni, or Cenimanni, inhabited the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Huntingdon, perhaps the north of Bedfordshire to the Ouse, and the south of Northamptonshire to the Nen ; and Venta Cenomanorum, Venta Icenorum, or Caster near Norwich, was their chief town.

The first name Icenî is derived from *Cyn*, first, ahead, forward, before, or foremost, having *y* or the article *the* prefixed ; thence the people would be called Cyni, Cyniad, Cynion, Cynwyr, Cynwys, and Cynwyson, or with the article, Y Cyni, &c. that is, the first or forward men, or men who are placed furthest, or at the extremity. The other name of Cenimaghi, or, more properly, Cenimanni, and Cenomanni, is compounded of the *Cyn* above explained, and *mân*, a place, spot, or region ; and with such addition the names, in British, would be Cyn-y-mani, Cyn-y-maniaid, and Cyn-y-manwys, but more correctly compounded, as, Cynvani, Cynvaniaid, Cynvanion, Cynvanwyr, Cynvanwys, Cynvanwyson, and Gwyr y Cynvanau ; and Cenomes implies the same, being derived from *Cyn*, and *Ma*, another word for a place or spot ; that is Cyn-y-mawys, Cynmawys, or Cynvawys, and Gwyr Cyn Ma, the people of the headmost or forward regions.

III. The CORITANI, Coitani, and Corii, should more properly have been called Corani, as we find a city belonging to them called Ratis-Corion, which supports the probability of their being the same with the people called Coraniaid, in the Historical Triads.

The curious record, in which they are mentioned, is as follows : “ *Tair Gormet a daeth i’r Ynys hon, ac nid aeth yr un drachevyn : cindaud y Coraniaid, a daethant yma yn oes Lut mab Beli, ac nid aeth yr un onatynt drachevyn ; ail, gormes y Gwytyl Fichti, ac nid aeth yr un drachevyn ; trydet, gores y Saeson, ac nid aethant drachevyn.* ” “ Three molestations came into this island, and not one of them went away again : the nation of the Coranians, who came hither in the time of Luth, son of Beli, of whom none went away again ; secondly, the invasion of the Gwydhelian Picts, of whom none went away ; thirdly, the invasion of the Saxons, and they did not go away again.”

Another ancient memorial mentions the Coranians amongst seven invaders of Britain, these were Draig Prydain, y Draig Estraun, y Gwyr Ledrithiaug, y Coraniaid, y Cesariaid, y Gwydyl Fichti, a’r Saeson ; or, the Procreant of Britain, the foreign Procreant,* the Half appearing Men,† the Coranians, the Cesarians, the Gwydhelian Picts, and the Saxons.

Out of several words in the British tongue similar

* The word Draig, in the original, is here rendered according to its abstract or primary import. See the word in O. Pughe’s Dictionary.

† The word Ledrithiaug is literally rendered above ; its general meaning is, abounding with illusion, illusive, deceiving, or magical.

in sound to the names of the above-mentioned tribe, I am rather at a loss which to select as the most applicable: the name of Cawri means mighty men, worthies, princes, giants: hence Corydon, Corydiaid, Corydwyr, Corydwys; Corodon, Corodiaid, Corodwyr, Corodwys; or Corani, Coraniaid, Coranion, Coranwyr, Coranwys: and Coreini, Coreiniaid, Coreinion, Coreinwyr, and Coreinwys, appellations denoting men that are liberal, generous, or lavish.

IV. The CASSII possessed all Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire up to the Nen on the north, and the adjoining parts of Buckinghamshire.

We find the Cassii likewise called Cattieuchlani; both the appellations are nearly of the same import, except that the latter has an addition, denoting their residence in coverts or woods. The former would be written in the British language Casi, Casiaid, Casion, Caswyr; or Caseiaid, Caseion, and Caseiwys, that is, men in hostility, or men addicted to hostility; the other would be Cati-y-Gwyllon, Catau-y-Gwyllon, Catwylloni, Cadwylloniaid, Cadwyllonwys, Catwylloni, Catwylloniaid, and Catwyllonwys, the bat-tlers or warriors of the coverts; and omitting the word Gwyll, a covert, they would be called Cati, Catiaid, Catwyr, Catwys, Catwyson; or Cateiaid, Cateion, Cateiwys, and Cedwyr; which last word is used for men of battle or warriors, in a general acceptance. Gwyllon is frequently used for satyrs, *spirits of the woods*, or *spirits of the gloom* and some of the old poets have the fine epithet Cadwyllon, or *gloomy powers of battle*.

V. The DOBUNI had that part of Gloucestershire

which lies north of the hill of Wotton-under-Edge, and east of the hills which bound the eastern side of the vale of the Severn, and the low valleys of Oxfordshire on the north side of the Thames, down to the confluence of the Tame, and the country about the Tame up to its sources in Buckinghamshire; their north-western and northern boundaries being the summit of the chain of hills on those sides of the two last mentioned counties; and their eastern limit the hills which extend at some distance along the same side of the Tame through its whole course.

The same word is the origin of the names of this people, and of the rivers Thames and Tame: that word is *Táv*, or the spreading out, and it is the appellation of many rivers, which, like these two, run along level valleys, and the waters of which spread out much. The people inhabiting such low regions might be indifferently called, Taveini, Taveiniaid, Taveinion, Taveinwyr, Taveinwys, Taveinwyson, and Gwyr y Tavain; or, Teiveini, Teiviniaid, Teivinion, Teivinwyr, Teivinwys, Teivinwyson, and Gwyr Teivi, or the men of the spreads or dales. Particular forms of construction would change the initials, and then the names would be more like Dobuni; as, *Dyma Daveini*, here are *Dobuni*.

VI. The *HUICCI*, or Jugantes, had Gloucestershire from the borders of the Dobuni northwards, and the whole of the county of Warwick, and nearly the whole of Worcester. These names are only different forms of the same word, and mean men of gallantry, or brave men; and they would be correctly written thus, Gwychi, Gwychiaid, Gwychion, Gwychwyr,

Gwychweis, Gwychweision, Gwyr Gwychion, and Gweis Gwychion; or thus, Gwychini, Gwycheiniaid, Gwycheinion, Gwycheinwyr, Gwycheinwys, and Gwyr Gwychain; and also Gwycheinti, Gwycheintiaid, Gwycheintion, Gwycheintwyr, Gwycheintwys, and Gwyr Gwychaint. From the same word are also formed Gwychyriaid, Gwychyron, Gwychyrywys, Gwychyriaint, Gwychyrogon, Gwychyrolion, and Gwyr Gwychyrr. In certain forms of construction, the initials of all these words are dropped, which shows the affinity to be closer; as,

Dyna WYCHI.

There are HUICCII.

Dyma WYCHEINTWYS

Here are JUGANTES.

VII. The ANCALITES had the eastern parts of the counties of Oxford and Buckingham, and bordered upon the Huiccii to the west.

The origin of this name very probably is Uchelitwys, or the inhabitants of the high grounds, for that was their situation, and they were so distinguished from their neighbours, the Taveini, or the people of the dales. They might be also called Ucheliad, Uchelwyr, Uchelwys, and Gwyr yr Uchelion.

VIII. The CORNAVII, CARNABII, or Corinavii, inhabited all Cheshire; and all Shropshire on the north and east of the Severn; and all Staffordshire, with some of the adjacent borders of Warwickshire and Leicestershire; and Uriconium or Wroxeter was their chief city.

The small headland between the rivers Dee and

Mersey is too inconsiderable, I think, to have given a name to this extensive nation, as Mr. Whitaker would have it. Not wishing to take the liberty of altering the word, I am somewhat doubtful from what origin to trace it; except it may be from *Corain*, circling or winding, and *aiv*, streams; if so, the people would be called Coreineivi, Coreineiviaid, Coreineivion, Coreineivwyr, and Coreineivwys, or the inhabitants of the banks of winding rivers, names rendered very applicable by the two great rivers, the Severn and the Dee, on which their country chiefly lay.

The eight nations above specified inhabited the Roman division of the island called Flavia Cæsariensis, and Flavia Cæsariensis having the Thames and the hills of Wotton-under-Edge for its southern limit, the Severn on the west, and the Mersey, Don, and Humber on the north.

I. The SETANTII, SISTUNTII, or Sistantii, inhabited Lancashire, and the southern parts of Westmoreland, having Rhigodunum, Coccium, or Blackrode for their chief town.

The name of this tribe, and that of the Voluntii, probably have reference to each other; for it would seem that one occupied a fruitful soil, and chiefly followed agriculture, whilst the other tended their flocks in the more hilly country. Agreeably to such a supposition, I make Syddynt an agricultural farm or tenement, to be the original of the appellation of the Setantii; from which word the people would be called Syddynti, Syddyntiaid, Syddyntion, Syddyntwyr, Syddyntwys; or, Syddyni, Syddyniaid, Syddyn-

wyr, and Syddynwys, from Syddyn, the primary form of the word ; the import of which is, the dwellers in farms, or those who cultivate the land.

II. The VOLANTII, or Voluntii, possessed the northern parts of Westmoreland and all Cumberland to the wall of Hadrian on the north ; having Volanty, or Ellenborough, in the latter county, for their capital.

In contradistinction to the Setantii, the Volantii were the people of the forests ; deriving their name from Gwyllaint, a region abounding with coverts or wilds ; and hence they would have the appellations of Gwyllleinti, Gwyllleintiaid, Gwyllleintion, Gwyllleintwyr, Gwyllleintwys, and Gwyr y Gwyllaint, or the woodlanders. As the name has a mutable initial, it approaches nearer to Volantii under some forms of construction ; as,

Gweli Wylleinti yno.

Thou wilt see Volantii there.

III. The BRIGANTES possessed Yorkshire to the Don and Humber on the south, all Durham and a little of Northumberland lying south of the wall of Hadrian.

Brigant,* from Brîg, implies in the British a summit, or upper situation ; from which may be formed, Briganti, Brigantiaid, Brigantion, Brigantwyr, Brigantwys, Brigantwyson, Brigantweis, Brigantweison, Gwyr y Brigant ; and also Brigeinti,

* By altering the word to Brygant, the name would be synonymous with the definition given of the Bibroces, that is, the people of the brakes and thickets.

Brigeintiaid, Brigeintion, Brigeintwyr, Brigeintwys, and Brigeintwyson, the people of the summits, or of the upper regions.

There is a very curious war dance still preserved in Wales, called Gware Brigant, the play of the Brigant, or Brigantian exercise. The three foregoing nations were comprised in the Roman province of Maxima, or Maxima Cæsariensis.

I. The OTTADINI possessed all Northumberland, except a small part to the south of the wall of Hadrian, all Lothian and Mers, and the half of Tweeddale.

One of the most celebrated bards of the sixth century was Aneurin, a chieftain of the Otodini. He wrote an elegy on a signal defeat sustained by his countrymen, in the battle of Cattræth, in which he himself bore a conspicuous part. This piece, which is still extant, bears the title of Gododin, and consists of three hundred and sixty-three stanzas, being the number of the Otodinian chiefs in that battle; of whom, says he, "there escaped but three by feat of arms; two dogs of war from Aeron, Cynon fierce, and I my hallowed muse did save from spilling of my blood."

Subsequently to this event, the Saxon power prevailed in Otodinia, and Aneurin retired to the monastery of St. Iltutus in South Wales, where he passed the remainder of his days.

From Gododin, and Manau Gododin, the names of the country, which imply regions bordering on the coverts, the people were called Gododini, Gododiniaid, Gododinion, Gododinwyr, and Gododinwys. From the initial being mutable it may be proper to

shew the appellation under a form affected by it, as,

“ *Gwyr a aeth Ododin, chwerthin wanar.*”

“ Heroes traversed Otodinia, a joyous course.”—*Aneurin.*

II. The GADENI had the small part of Cumberland which lies north of the wall of Hadrian, Tiviotdale, Tweeddale up to the Tweed, and Clydesdale to Larnark on the north-west.

Very probably this nation inhabited a country which is called Goddau, or the groves, in our old manuscripts; for, by a different termination, the name will sound like Gadeni, as Goddain, abounding with groves, and hence the people would have the appellations of Goddeini, Goddeiniaid, Goddeinion, Goddeinwyr, Goddeinwys, Goddeinwyson, Goddeinweis, Goddeinweision, Goddeinogi, Goddeinogiaid, Goddeinogion, Goddeinigion, and Gwyr Goddau.

III. The SELGOVÆ inhabited Anandale, Nithisdale and Galloway to the Dee; and perhaps the south-east of Kyle, and the south-west of Clydesdale.

The name of this people is descriptive of their position in a country upon the dividing water; and it is the original from which Solway is to be traced. It is a compound from *Sall*, that branches out, separates or divides, and *Gwy*, a stream. These two radical words uncompounded would preserve the mutable initial of the latter, thus *Sall Gwy*: but otherwise it would be written *Sallwy*; the first form accounts for the *g* in *Selgovæ*, and the other shows why it is omitted in *Solway*. There is another radical word, which is *ma*, a place, very frequently affixed to others in forming names, and then it changes into

va. With this addition Sall Gwy would then be Sall Gwyva, or Sallwyva, the region upon the dividing stream, which approaches still nearer to Selgov. Hence the people would be named Sall-Gwyvai, Sallwyväaid, Sallwyväon, Sallwyvawyr, Sallwyvawys, Gwyr Sallwyva, Gwyr ar Sallwy, and Gwyr ar Sall-Gwy.

IV. The NOVANTES possessed the whole of Gallo-way lying west of the Dee. The appellation of Novant signifies a situation abounding with streams, or in the water, and is descriptive of the country of this people. They themselves were called Novanti, Novantiaid, Novantion, Novantwyr, Novantwys, Novantwyson, Novantweis, Novantweision, Novantigion, and Gwyr Novant, or the men of the region bordering upon the water.

The country of the Novantes is mentioned by Aneurin, when he enumerates the forces in Cattræth in these words :

“ *Tri llwry Novant ;*
Pymmunt, a phumcant
Tri chwn a thrichant ;
Tri chwe chad varchawg
Eidyn euruchawg ;
Tri llu llurygawg ;
Tri eur-deyrn torchawg ;
Tri marchawg dywal,
Tri chant gyhaval ;
Tri chyvnaid cysnar
Chwervysgynt esgar :—
Tri theyrn Mäon
A dyvu o Vrython.”

“ Three from Novant ; five myriad and five hundred ; three chiefs and three hundred ; three times six troops of horsemen of

Eidyn arrayed in gold ; three loricated hosts ; three princes wearing golden torques ; three furious knights, equalled by three hundred more ; three heroes leaping onward together, who bitterly mixed with the foes : three sovereign kings there came of Britons."

V. The DAMNII bordered on the north of the Novantes, Selgovæ, and Gadeni, being separated from them by a range of mountains. They inhabited all Carrick, Cunningham, and Renfrew, and probably the northern and western parts of Kyle, and the north-eastern of Clydesdale ; the wall of Antoninus was their northern barrier.

The name of this people implies that they inhabited the deep vales or glens between mountains : for I imagine that it is to be identified in the British words Dyfni, Dyvniaid, Dyvnwyr, Dyvnwys, Dyvnwyson, and Gwyr y Dyvnau, or the men of the deeps. The root of these names is Dyvyn, from which in another form, is also derived the appellation of the Damnonii, or the men of Devonshire.

The five nations above mentioned were included in the Roman Province of Valentia.

I. The HORESTII inhabited Strathern and the recesses of the neighbouring mountains of Perth, lying south of the Tay.

This people probably received their name from the strong position of their country, it being the most inaccessible part of the Grampian mountains ; for the word Hyrwyst from which it seems to be derived signifies, that easily or aptly hinders, that is easily defended, or an impregnable barrier ; whence the name of the inhabitants, Hyrwysti, and Hyrwystiad.

II. The VECTURONES possessed all Perth, with the

exception of the small portion lying south of the Tay, the whole of Gawry, Angus, and Merns ; and the narrow region of Mar, south of the Dee.

There are several words in the British language which bear affinity to this name ; as, Gwychyron,* brave ones ; Gwythyron, men of wrath ; Peithyron,† men of the open, or out country ; and Uchderon, the inhabitants of the heights. I am induced to reject these appellations, in favour of a country so often mentioned by Aneurin, in the Gododin ; and especially so, as that name may be identified in the river Erne and Strathern. The one referred to is Aeron, the original name of the river Erne, and of several other rapid foaming streams. The original situation of the Vecturones was above, beyond, or north of that river ; whence, accordingly, they would be called Uchaeronwys, Uchaeroni, Uchaeroniaid, Uchaeronwyr, and Gwyr-Uchaeron, or the men of the region above Aeron.

III. The TAIXALI inhabited all of Mar, on the north of the Dee, and Buchan.

This nation had their appellation, probably, from Tachial, the terminating fair, or open, country ; a name nearly equivalent to the fair headland ; whence

* This is the root from which Mr. Whitaker derives the name.

† Peithyron, having a mutable initial, approaches more nearly to Vecturones under some forms of construction ; as, Dyma Beithyron, here are Vecturones. The root of this word is Paith, what is clear, open or out ; and hence the name Picti, or Peithi, the men of the open, or out country ; so, perhaps, with respect to the bounds of the Roman Empire.

the inhabitants would be called Tachiali, Tachialiaid, Tachialon, Tachialwyr, and Tachialwys.

IV. The VACOMAGI had all Bamff, Murray, and Inverness to the town of that name ; nearly all Badenoch and Argyle ; and the small part of Braidalban lying north of the Tay.

By referring to a map of Scotland, it would appear that these people inhabited a chain of deep glens, extending across the island. Such being their situation, it would be appropriate enough to call them Paucymogi, Paucymogiaid, Paucymogion, Paucymogwyr, Paucymogwys, and Gwyr y Bau Gymog, or the men of the country abounding with glens.

V. The ALBANI, or Damnii Albani, were situated south of the Vacomagi in the parts of Athol and Braidalban lying south of the Tay, the north of Strathern and of Manteith.

The word Alban means the greatest, utmost, or superior height ; hence Albani, Albaniaid, Albanion, Albanwyr, Albanwys, Albanwyson, Albanweis, Albanweision, Albanigiaid, Albanigion, Albanogi, Albanoigiaid, Albanogion, Gwyr Alban, and Gwyr Albanau, the men of the upper mountains.

By the name Alban the Welsh now mean Scotland in general.

VI. The ATTACOTTI inhabited nearly the extent of the present district of Lenox.

This nation probably dwelt on one of the extremities of Coed Celyddon, or the Caledonian forest ; at least the name seems to countenance such a supposition ; for Eitha-coeti, Eithocoetiaid, and Eithocoetwys, imply the men of the extremity of the wood.

The six nations above specified were comprehended in the Roman Province of Vespasiana.

I. The CALEDONI inhabited the interior parts of Inverness, the western of Badenoch and of Braidalban, the eastern of Lochaber, and the north-east of Lorn.

These people were so called on account of their dwelling in the coverts of the forest. The Welsh name for that kind of region is Celyddon, which means literally seclusions, or coverts. The appellation occurs very often in old manuscripts, and sometimes with the addition to it of *Coed*, wood. The people are generally called Gwyr Celyddon, the men of the coverts, or woodmen; they might be also named Celyddoni, Celyddoniaid, and Celyddonwys, or Caledonians.

*“Avallen beren berav ei haeron
A dyv yn argel yn argoel Celyddon.”*

“Sweet apple tree, whose fruit is most delicious, grows in a shelter in the skirt of the wood of Celyddon.”

Merddin.

II. The CANTÆ inhabited the eastern parts of Ross.

The names of this people, and of the Cantii of Kent, are of the same origin, which is Caint, a word descriptive of their respective countries. That part of the county of Ross, in which the Cantæ resided, compared with the surrounding regions, is tolerably open, and free from high mountains and rocks. The name of the inhabitants would be in the British tongue Ceinti, or otherwise, Ceintiaid, Ceintion, and so forth, as under the name of Cantii.

III. The LOGI extended along the seacoast of Sutherland, to the Ale or Ila in Caithness.

The appellation, in the British, nearest in sound to the name of this tribe, is Lygi, the inhabitants of the fenny district, or morass.

IV. The CARNABII inhabited all Caithness north of the Ale.

These people were called Cernywi like the inhabitants of Cornwall, and for the same reason ; which was, that they were both seated on promontories. See a further illustration in the account of the Carnabii of Cornwall.

V. The CATINI were situated along the seashore of Strathnavern.

Some of the Britons were armed with a simple weapon, though formidable in the manner in which it was used. It was a club of about a yard long, with a heavy end worked into four sharp points ; to the thin end, or handle, a cord was fixed, which enabled a person well trained, to throw it with great force and exactness, and then by a jerk to bring it back to his hand, either in order to renew his throw, or to keep it in his hand for close action. This weapon was called Cat, and Catai ; the adjective of this word would be Catin ; and the men who used it were called Catini, Catiniaid, Catinion, Catinwyr, and Catinwys, but more generally Cateion. Probably the people now spoken of were club-men remarkable for being armed in the manner above described.

VI. The MERTÆ inhabited the interior parts of Strathnavern and Sutherland.

If the principal occupation of these people was

tending their cattle, which from their situation was very probably the case, they might have been appropriately called Meirydi, Meiri, Meiriaid, Meirioni, Meirioniaid, Meirionwyr, Meirionwys, Meirwyr, and Meirwys, or the dairymen.

VII. The CARNONACÆ inhabited the shore of Ross from Loch Assynt to Loch Breyn.

If the country assigned to these people abounds with heaps of loose stones, or carns, Carneinwg, and Carneinog, would be proper epithets for it; whence the inhabitants would be called Carneinogi, Carneinogiaid, Carneinogion, Carneinogwyr, Carneinogwys, and Gwyr Carneinog, or the men of the stony region.

But on consulting the general form of the country, I am led to believe that it was called Cerneinog, or the region abounding with points or juttings: for the whole coast shoots out in points into the sea. From a country bearing such a name, the inhabitants would be called Cerneinogi, and Cerneinogiaid.

VIII. The CERONES extended from Loch Assynt, to the river Itys, or Sheyl, in the county of Inverness.

The original appellation of this tribe might have been Cawron, or Cawronwys, the mighty ones.

IX. The CREONES had the river Itys or Sheyl for their northern boundary, and extended to the Longus or Loch Long on the south.

Perhaps these people were called Crëon, and Crëonwys, or the shouters, from their being more remarkable than others for shouting in battle; or, on account of their fierceness, their name might have been Crenon, or Crenonwys, the men of blood.

X. The EPIDII inhabited Cantine and Knapdale.

These people were so called, from a word which probably was the name of their country, descriptive of its singular projection into the sea. The word which I allude to is Ebyd, implying, abstractedly, a going from, a passing off; and used as the name of a country, it would imply a place running out, or darting from; and according to the idioms of some of the British dialects, Ebyd would be changed to Epyd; especially so, with the accession of another syllable. Thence the inhabitants of the Ebyd, or peninsula, would be called Ebydi, Ebydiaid, Ebydion, Ebydwyr, Ebydwys; or, Epydi, Epydiaid, Epydion, Epydwyr, and Epydwys.

This completes the catalogue of the several principal tribes, who originally inhabited Britain, according to the best information, which the Romans were able to procure. It was by colonies, from some of these nations, that Ireland became progressively peopled; and chiefly from such as occupied the western shores; who, in general, preserved their original appellations, or assumed other names of the same import. It is worth observing, that in Ireland the Belgæ, who arrived there in subsequent periods, formed a body of people distinct from the first colonies, until they subdued them; and then these two leading distinctions gradually ceased to exist, and the peculiarities, which formed the Belgic dialect of the Cimbric language, became prevalent amongst all the inhabitants of the island.*

* We have documents, in British history, sufficient to shew what were the leading differences between the Belgic, and the

Those writers who treat of the period in British history, which I am now discussing, generally run into two extremes, equally injurious to the subject. One party depends too implicitly upon the fidelity of ancient chronicles and traditions, the other rejects everything as a silly fable, but what is transmitted from the classic pen of a Grecian or a Roman author.

Guided by a spirit of discrimination, much interesting history might be produced, by investigating all the old chronicles and traditionary memorials; and by comparing them with the laws and customs of the ancient Britons.

Thus it might be made to appear, that the Cymbrians, or less properly, the Celts, agreeably to the tenets of the Bardic religion, adhered most strictly to the principles of the liberty of individuals, even to the prejudice of general security; and that they were so jealous of this maxim, as never to delegate great power to a supreme chief, but in times of imminent danger, such as an invasion by a foreign enemy, and the like; and that they must consequently have been always divided into small states; and therefore, according to their constitution, never could have united in an extensive and efficient empire.

By pursuing the inquiry, in the way above mentioned, the disputed point, whether writing was known

dialects of the original Britons; and those documents prove the identity of the Belgic and the present Irish language. The following instance will serve to illustrate the point: the name of Vortigern would be written Feartigearn by the Irish; but he is always called Gortheyrn, or Gwrtheyrn, by the Welsh.

to the Britons, before the arrival of the Romans in the island, may be fully established in the affirmative.* It must consequently follow that they applied this art to some uses ; but, before those are particularized, it may be proper to remark, that it was not applied to preserve any of the bardic institutes, either political or religious, on account of the strict regulation, requiring every member of the order to be able to recite the whole from memory ; which was done with all possible publicity at the stated meetings. This regular system of oral tradition was so strictly followed, that it was considered as a more certain means of guarding against lapses and innovations than even could be established from the use of letters, according to the then confined state of written composition. The principal use therefore, which would be made of writing, would be, to note remarkable events, next to the recording of some particular proofs, enjoined by the laws, some of which it may be proper here to mention. The law of Gavelkind, or equal distribution of property amongst co-relatives, had a universal operation ; and many usages were founded upon this law, which required a direct proof of kindred pedigree for several generations ; and to attain this with facility, resort would be had to writing. For instance, it was incumbent on a man to produce a clear record of his pedigree for nine generations, to entitle him to the rank of a freeman ; and consequently to his allotment of pro-

* See the matter discussed, in treating of the Roman period, being the next epoch of this sketch.

perty in his community. His pedigree was then in fact his title deed to whatever was possessed by him ; therefore those records were not the vague list of names, which writers, unacquainted with the laws of the Britons, have generally considered them to be.

Another instance of law usage, requiring a clear proof, was that system of fine and compensation for crimes, by which the family of a guilty individual was affected to the ninth degree of consanguinity, with respect to the contribution to be levied ; as also was the family of the person suffering the injury, in partaking of each his respective share of the compensation made by the other party ; which was done on both sides in ratios, according to the degree of relationship.

Such precautions being required, as are above mentioned, in preserving proofs of kindred amongst private persons, it must necessarily follow, that British chieftains were not less jealous of having a clear title to the supremacy exercised over their respective tribes ; for it was only by being regularly the heads of the most ancient families that they could aspire to their situations.

Some of those pedigrees having escaped the ravages of time, and being preserved under the before mentioned necessity of being correct, we cannot do less than consider them as curious and valuable.

EPOCH II.

FROM CÆSAR'S FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN TO THE FINAL EVACUATION OF IT BY THE ROMANS, COMPRISING A PERIOD OF ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED YEARS.

CHAPTER I.

A transient view of the state of this Island, as to religion, morals, and general knowledge, when the Romans first projected its subjugation ; occasionally interspersed with retrospective observations.

HAVING already given a sketch of the history of the Britons prior to the Roman invasion, I shall now attempt to carry the narrative forward, and proceed still further with the history of the same people until the time when the Roman legions were totally withdrawn, and Britain ceased to be any longer a part of the Roman Empire. It is a very interesting period of the British history ; and it will be my endeavour to exhibit some of its most prominent features, and to record some of its most important occurrences.

The state of knowledge and civilization among our ancestors, when Cæsar first formed the design of subduing them, is a point on which antiquaries and historians have entertained very different opinions. While some have considered them as a nation of barbarians and savages, scarcely superior to the Esquimaux, the

Caffres, or the New Hollanders, others have maintained that they were really an enlightened people, who had arrived at an advanced state of intellectual improvement, and of social and political maturity, under the direction of a numerous and respectable order of instructors, whose precepts and maxims indicated an eminent degree of mental culture, and would have suffered no degradation by a fair comparison with those of the most renowned of the Grecian or Roman sages. And this latter opinion seems far from being so ill-founded or untenable as some are apt to suppose.

The instructors here alluded to were the Druids, among the ancient Gauls and Britons a most dignified and distinguished order of men, to whom the province of public instruction chiefly appertained. Of these renowned preceptive functionaries, many celebrated writers among the ancients have undertaken to give a particular account, as may be seen by consulting our national historians, or the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *Cyclopædia* of Chambers and Rees, under the words *Bards* and *Druids*. Among those ancient writers were Cæsar, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

Strabo distinguished the ancient British and Gallic philosophers into three classes, bards, vates, (or ovates), and Druids ; which is correct, and shews that he had taken good care to obtain authentic information. He also says, that their interest with the people was so great, that they could stop armies on the very point

of engaging, and so accommodate their differences as to effect a hearty reconciliation.

Diodorus Siculus expresses himself to the same purpose, and says, that the people paid a great regard to their exhortations, not only in the affairs of peace, but even in those of war; and that they were respected both by friends and foes, and would sometimes step in between two hostile armies, while standing with swords drawn and spears extended, ready to engage; and by their eloquence, as by an irresistible enchantment, would prevent the effusion of blood, and prevail upon them to sheath their swords and be reconciled. How happy would it be for the world at large if the same pacific disposition and benevolent spirit which led them so to act were sometimes conspicuous features in the character, and in the daily conduct, of our modern Christian priests and philosophers! To a sincere Christian it must be a most humiliating and lamentable consideration, that heathen priests (bloody Druids, as they have been called) should appear more pacific and humane, more inimical to war and bloodshed, than men who profess themselves to be the disciples, and even the priests and ministers of Him who is justly denominated the *Prince of Peace*, and who came into the world not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

Suetonius, in his Life of Claudius, charges the Druids with offering human sacrifices, as Cæsar also does in his Commentaries; but Diodorus Siculus affirms, that it was but rarely, or only on extraordinary occasions, that they made such offerings. Whatever was the fact it seems certain that, even in this trait

of character, they fell vastly short of most of our modern Christian nations, who sometimes sacrifice myriads of human victims in a day, without the least pity, shame, or sorrow. Augustus and Tiberius, it seems, abolished the said Druidical practice in Gaul, and Claudius in Britain; shocked, as we may presume, at the very idea of it, as connected with Druidism, but unable, or unwilling, to apply the case to themselves, who were at the same time in the habit of sacrificing human victims in immense numbers. Thus it often happens, that men will indignantly condemn in the conduct of others, what they constantly allow in their own without the least scruple, alarm, or disquietude.

The Druids, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, resembled the Pythagoreans; and several authors have asserted, that Pythagoras himself had been among the Gallic Druids, and was initiated in their philosophy. In which case it may be concluded that he had derived a great portion of his knowledge and wisdom from them.

According to Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, and others, the Druids used to enter into many disquisitions and disputations in their schools, concerning the form and magnitude of the universe in general, and of the earth in particular; and even concerning the most sublime and secret mysteries of nature. They were also said to be versed in astronomy, astrology, arithmetic, geometry, and geography, as well as mechanics. Of their extraordinary proficiency in the last mentioned, we have very convincing proofs in the stupendous remains of Stonehenge, and others of their works,

some single stones in which, are said to be above forty tons weight. Botany, medicine, and natural philosophy, are likewise said to have been objects of their diligent and successful study.

Both Cicero and Cæsar seem to give them credit for deep, extensive, and valuable knowledge. The former says he was personally acquainted with one of the Gallic Druids, Divitiacus the Æduan, a man of quality in his country, who professed to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, or that science which the Greeks call Physics, or Physiology.* Strabo has preserved one of their physiological tenets concerning the universe, viz. That it was never to be destroyed, but was to undergo a succession of great changes and revolutions, which were to be produced sometimes by the agency or predominance of *water*, and sometimes by that of *fire*.

Some have thought so highly of their astronomical proficiency, as to conclude that they really had invented instruments which answered the same purpose with our telescopes, from its being said by Diodorus Siculus, that in the Hyperborean Island (supposed to be Britain) the moon was seen as if she were at but a small distance from the earth, and having hills and mountains, like ours, on its surface. Some also have been of opinion that they were acquainted with the cycle of nineteen years, called the cycle of the moon, from its being observed by the same writer, that the

* He is also repeatedly and respectfully mentioned by Cæsar, who probably derived from him all, or most of his knowledge concerning Druidism.

Hyperboreans supposed that Apollo descended into their island at the end of every nineteen years, when the sun and moon, having performed their respective revolutions, return to the same point, and again begin their course. Pliny has asserted, that the Druids had also a cycle or period of thirty years, which they called an age; and which probably was the same with the great year of the Pythagoreans, or revolution of Saturn. But these things are not quite free from uncertainty. Of all the ancient writers, it is Cæsar perhaps that gives the most particular account of the Druids; for which reason and because he may be supposed to have had better opportunities of knowing them than most of the rest, a summary of what he has said may be here given. The reader, who wishes to know more of what the others have related, is referred to their respective works, or to the extracts which appear to be very fairly and judiciously selected in the two celebrated publications above mentioned.

The Gauls were understood to have received Druidism from the Britons. Their Druids, as well as those of Britain, possessed vast influence and power among the people. To them, as Cæsar asserts, belonged the care of divine things, of public and private sacrifices, with the interpretation of religion. The instruction of youth was also their province; and in such high veneration were they held that their countrymen readily submitted all their differences to their arbitration. They were, it seems, the judges in all cases, and from their decisions there lay no appeal. Those who refused to abide by their verdict, were

liable to excommunication and outlawry, which reduced them to a dreadful dilemma ; for all such persons were reckoned among the wicked, and shunned by the whole community, who avoided their company as contagious. Neither could such bring an action, or commence a suit in any case, or discharge any office in the commonwealth.

The Gallic Druids, as Cæsar relates, held a grand session or convention, once a year, at a consecrated place near the centre of the country, where vast numbers of cases and controversies were decided. He also gives it as the prevailing opinion, or current tradition, that Druidism originated, or was first instituted in Britain, whence it was introduced into Gaul ; and he says, that even in his time, those of the latter, who wished to become perfect in Druidical knowledge, used to visit the former for that purpose ; such perfection being deemed attainable only in the British schools.* He further informs us that the Gallic

* Of the existence of such a tradition in Cæsar's time, there can be no reasonable doubt ; and that it was well founded seems very probable ; whence it may pretty fairly be inferred, that Britain at some remote period, and for no short season, enjoyed a degree of light and knowledge beyond what its neighbours could boast of. This also appears to be not a little corroborated by certain Sanscrit MSS. (discovered by Major Wilford, and published in a late volume of the Asiatic Researches) which describes the British Isles, at periods of very remote antiquity, under the names of the *White Islands*, *Isles of the Mighty*, and *Sacred Isles of the West*, &c. where the gods had their abode, and where, of course, knowledge and wisdom abounded more than any where else in the world, and whence even Brahminical institutions derived their origin.—See Asiatic Researches, Vol. xi.; also Monthly Magazine for Feb. 1813.

Druids seldom attended the army, being exempted from that duty, as well as from the payment of taxes, besides enjoying many important immunities. Such, he says, were their reputation and renown, and such the deference paid to them by the public, that many chose to be of their order, while others were sent to their college or seminary by their parents or relations. And at the seminary, their first lesson or task was to learn a certain number of verses by heart, which some would be twenty years in acquiring; for they never, says he, commit them to writing: *not* that they *are ignorant of letters*, for they make use of *Greek characters* on all other occasions. But I suppose, he adds, they observe this custom to lock up their learning from the vulgar, and exercise the memory of their pupils.

Their chief tenet, he further observes, is, that the soul never dies, but transmigrates after the decease of one body into another, which doctrine has a tendency to inspire them with courage, and a contempt of death. He says, they had many other traditions, which they taught their disciples, concerning the stars and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods.

A little further on, still speaking of the Gauls, he describes the whole nation as much given to superstition: as if the same had not been equally the case with his own dear countrymen the Romans. But we do not mean to deny what he here lays to the charge of the Gauls. They were so very superstitious, he says, that those who were dangerously ill, or daily exposed to perils and death, either offered human

sacrifices, or devoted themselves to the altar. He further informs us, that these sacrifices were committed to the care of the Druids, who placed the victims in a sort of hollow frame or wicker case, where, after it had been set on fire, they were soon suffocated or burnt to death.

They believed, he says, that *thieves, highwaymen*, and such like offenders, were the most acceptable offerings to the Deity; but in case these happened to become scarce, the innocent were forced to supply their places.* Such is the substance of Cæsar's account of the Druids: they held the immortality of the soul and its transmigration, they also held the necessity of human expiatory sacrifices, which appear to have generally consisted of malefactors, who were deemed to have forfeited their lives by the atrociousness of their crimes.

Should the reader be shocked at the idea of these ancient British and Gallic human sacrifices, let him remember, that even modern Gaul and modern Britain have also had, and still have, their human victims; the number of which, or the circumstances attending their immolation, do not appear at all to fall short of what occurred among their pagan and Druidical ancestors. Nay, some of these modern sacrifices are more shocking than those of the ancients, as the conductors of them pretend to act in the name of God, by the authority of Christ, and under the direction of the Gospel! Myriads upon myriads of

* See Cæsar's Commentaries of his Wars in Gaul, Book vi. Chap. viii. ix. x.

human beings have been thus immolated in the religious wars and persecutions of modern Christendom : not to mention our frequent executions of malefactors, which perhaps more exactly correspond with the Druidical human sacrifices, and, like them, always assume a sort of religious form or cast.

As to the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, the Druids were not singular in their belief of that tenet. It was maintained by many ancient philosophers of distant nations, and by Origen, and other writers and fathers among the early Christians. Nor has it in modern times, and in our own country, been without its advocates. Of late years a very elegant writer, philosopher, and Christian apologist, avowed his belief, and published a very ingenious defence of it, which excited very general admiration.* But however objectionable this tenet may appear in the eyes of most people, it does not seem chargeable with a licentious or immoral tendency ; as its advocates always connected holiness with happiness and glory ; and wickedness, on the other hand, with misery and degradation.

From the preceding observations, some idea may be formed of the state of religion, morals, and general knowledge, among our ancestors, when the Romans first came among them. However rude they might be deemed by Cæsar and his countrymen, who considered all other nations as barbarians, yet in point

* Vid. Disquisitions on several subjects; No. 3. London, 1782 ; ascribed to the late Soame Jenyns, Esq. author of the *View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*.

of knowledge, we presume, they were superior to most, and perhaps to all of the neighbouring nations. And it seems pretty clear that whatsoever advantage they derived from the Romans, during a long connexion, they made a much more respectable appearance at the time of the arrival of these invaders, than they did afterwards at the time of their final departure. So that it may be justly said, that the Romans left Britain in a much less happy and respectable state than that in which they found it.

CHAPTER II.

Observations on certain Discrepances of opinion among some of our modern Archæologists, upon the character of Druidism and the tenets of the Druids, and upon the question, whether writing was known to the Britons previously to the arrival of the Romans.

OF all our modern writers on the subject of Druidism, none have distinguished themselves so much as Mr. Edward Williams, Mr. William Owen,* and Mr. Edward Davies. They are all very intimately and extensively acquainted with British antiquities and bardic lore, and have thrown considerable light on many of the subjects which they have investigated; but there are some important points on which the last mentioned differs widely in opinion from the others. It may not be very difficult to account for

* The late Dr. William Owen Pughe.

this. Mr. Williams and Mr. Owen, being of the bardic order, would naturally think favourably of Druidism; Mr. Davies, on the other hand, being himself of a different order, would view Druidism in a different light, and discover defects in it which the others had overlooked, while he himself perhaps would fail to observe defects equally glaring connected with his own order.

Had the minds of these able writers been sufficiently unbiassed or divested of prejudice, their disquisitions would have proved more uniform, harmonious and decisive. But as they were hampered by strong and opposite prepossessions, it is no great wonder that their portraitures of Druidism should appear so very dissimilar. One party had seemingly a pretty strong predilection for Druidism, and the other an equally strong aversion from it. The first of these writers placed too much reliance on the institutes of the chair of Glamorgan, whose legitimacy is doubted, while the last was perhaps equally influenced and misled by the Bryantian system of mythology, which, like many other systems, has evidently its weak parts, and may, in this investigation, have often been inapplicable. The one may also be said to have been carried too far by a strong attachment to liberty and the rights of man, and the other by a dread of innovation, and a wish to perpetuate the present established order of things. Under such circumstances, their accounts or disquisitions would necessarily prove defective, and, like too many historical productions, afford the authors but a slender claim to the merit or praise of impartiality.

When we consider how different were the habits, situations, and connexions of the two *bards* from those of the rector, the difference in their views and their delineations can excite no wonder. We feel much more surprized at some other circumstances in their writings. Such for instance, as fancying that Quakerism has emanated from Druidism, and that the Quakers in Wales are accustomed to assemble in the open air, within an enclosure, called *mynwent* ; and that George Fox, in arranging his system, availed himself of the experience and labours of William Erbury and Walter Cradock : all which seem no better than idle conceits.* The same may be said of the good rector's making the vale of *cuch*, under the new name of the vale of *Cwch*, to allude to the *ark* ; and making Emlyn to mean a *clear lake*, an emblem of the *flood*, though there is nothing like a lake in the whole district or near it ; also his making Nevern to signify a *pledge of heaven*, whereas Nevern is only a modern, or the English name of the parish ; the Welsh name being Nhyfer, a contraction seemingly of Nanhyfer. To which may be added, his making Dinbych (or Tenby) the *sacred isle*, which is no isle, nor any thing like it. That *sacred isle*, in all probability, was Caldy, which is within a short distance of Tenby, and the *Ynys Pyr* of the ancients, a name sufficiently mythological, while the place seems in all respects well adapted to Druidical purposes, as Bardsey, which he allows to have been so appropriated. Finally, his representing the *white trefoil* as a sacred

* Preface to Llywarch Hên, p. 54.

emblem of the mysterious Three in One, as if the Druids had been all sound orthodox Trinitarians, which seems rather unlikely.*

Most of these inaccuracies, and others that might be added, may be imputed probably to the misleadings of favourite systems, which the ingenious authors would do well to review and revise. After all, their labours in general are certainly very valuable, and have greatly contributed to the stores of British antiquities.

Another point upon which our antiquaries disagree is, *whether writing was known to our ancestors before the arrival of the Romans*. Carte and Whitaker take the negative side of the question; while Owen and Davies are no less strenuous on the affirmative side of it. The two former lay no small stress on our earliest inscriptions upon stones, as well as upon our most ancient coins, being all in Roman characters; which yet may admit of some doubt, at least as to those on the grave of Cadvan.† Mr. Owen, on the other side, argues, partly from the ancient law of Gavelkind, or equal distribution of property among co-relatives, which had a universal operation, as he seems to suppose, among the ancient Britons, and upon which many usages were founded requiring a direct proof of kindred pedigree for several generations, to attain which, recourse must be had to writing. Another instance of law usage, he says,

* Mythology of the Druids, 395, 408.

† Celtic Researches, 275.

demanding proof no less clear, and being equally indicative of the existence of written records, was that ancient system of fine and compensation for crimes, by which the family of a guilty individual was affected to the ninth degree of consanguinity, with respect to the contribution to be levied; as also was the family of the person suffering the injury, in partaking each respectively of the compensation made by the other party; which was done on both sides in ratios, according to the degree of relationship.* All this would seem to be impracticable without the aid of written documents.

Mr. Davies, on the same side, takes a very wide range. What he urges, though in general very ingenious, extends over too wide a field to admit of my attempting here any thing like a summary of it. His note on Taliesin's "Ysgrifen Brydain," in the poem called "Mic Dinbych," seems very plausible, if not conclusive. But a much more forcible argument on this side of the question has been furnished by those ancient characters, still in existence, which are called "Coelbien y Beirdd," and which appear to be no other than the identical ancient British or Druidical alphabet. It may be seen at the beginning of Owen's Grammar, and also in the Celtic Researches.†

After all, there cannot be found a more decisive proof, that writing was really known among our ancestors before Cæsar's time, than what has been supplied by Cæsar himself, in a passage which has

* Cambrian Register, Vol. ii. p. 23.

† See page 272.

been already noticed, and of which Mr. Davies has given the following translation : “ Nor do they deem it lawful to commit those things (which pertain to their discipline) to writing : though *generally* in other cases, and in their public and private accounts, they use *Greek* letters. They appear to me to have established this custom, for two reasons ; because they would not have their secrets divulged, and because they would not have their disciples depend on written documents, and neglect the exercise of memory.”* This passage, undoubtedly, is as applicable to British as to the Gallic Druids ; and therefore, notwithstanding Carte’s glosses, it must completely decide the question.

CHAPTER III.

State of Britain as to its connexion or intercourse with other nations, before as well as after the commencement of this Epoch.

It seems to have been generally supposed that the Britons had no kind of intercourse with other nations, and that even they were scarcely known to any of them ; till they were discovered, invaded, and subdued, by the Romans. But this must be a very erroneous idea. They were certainly very well known

* De Bello Gallico, Lib. vi. cap. 13.

to the Belgic and Gallic nations, whose youth were frequently sent hither to complete their education, from a prevailing opinion, that the schools of this country afforded greatly superior advantages. That very opinion implies that those continental nations were well acquainted with the state and circumstances of this country, and that the intercourse between them and our ancestors must have been pretty general and extensive. Accordingly we read of a certain king of Soissons, before Cæsar's time, who had much communication with this country, and held here some territorial possessions.* Our ancestors also assisted the Gallic nations in their wars with the Romans, which is the reason given by Cæsar for undertaking the invasion and subjugation of their country. This fact is corroborated by the British Triads. Our ancestors, too, were known, not only to those neighbouring nations, but even to some that lay at no small distance, and that long before Cæsar and his legions began to disturb the world.

Carte, but more especially Whitaker, has made it appear from good authority, that those great commercial nations of antiquity, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, traded to this island for many ages ere the Romans made their appearance in these western parts of Europe. "The first commerce of the Britons," says Whitaker, "was occasioned by the resort of the Phœnicians to their coasts. Those bold adventurers in navigation and traffic having planted colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, and ranging along

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, Lib. ii. c. 2.

the borders of the great untraversed ocean of the west, reached the south-western promontories of Britain, and entered into a trading correspondence with the inhabitants. The real singularity and commercial consequence of the voyage gave great reputation to the officer that conducted it, and have occasioned the name of Midacritus to be transmitted with honor to posterity. Midacritus brought the first vessel of the Phœnicians to our coasts ; and it was he who opened the first commerce of the Phœnicians with our fathers. He found the country to abound particularly with *tin*, which was equally useful and rare. He trafficked with the Britons for it ; and returned home with a valuable cargo of that metal.* Such was the first effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which was afterwards to conduct the vessels of the island to the shores of Carthage and Tyre, and even to raise the Britons superior in boldness and skill to the Phœnicians ! This was before the time of Herodotus, and about five hundred years before the Christian era. The trade was opened with the natives of the Cassiterides, or Scilly Islands, one of which was greatly superior in size to the rest, and denominated Cassiteris Insula, or the Tin-Island. The cargo which Midacritus brought from this island, and the account which he gave of it, occasioned a regular resort of the Phœnicians to the coast of Scilly. The trade was very advantageous to the state, and the track was solicitously concealed by the public.

Thus continued the traffic of Britain for nearly

* Plin. Lib. vii. c. 56.

three hundred years, it being esteemed the most beneficial in Europe, and carefully sought after by all the commercial powers in the Mediterranean. The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the course of the Phœnician voyagers ; and some time prior to the period of Polybius, and about two hundred years before the Christian era, began to share with them in the trade of tin.* The Carthaginian commerce declined : the Massylian increased ; and in the reign of Augustus, the whole current of the British traffic had been gradually diverted into this channel.

At that period, which was antecedent to the establishment of the Roman power here, the trade of the island is said to have been very considerable.

* The following passage from Carte is too remarkable to be here left unnoticed—"The Massylians tempted by the like hopes of gain, and in order to share with the Phœnicians in the advantages of a commerce with these parts of the world, sent, about two hundred and fifty years before Christ, *Pytheas*, one of their citizens, to make a discovery of all the coasts of the ocean towards the north, beyond the streights of Gibraltar. This ancient geographer having coasted along Spain, Gaul, and Britain, examining the situation and condition of the ports in his way, proceeded at last as far north as Iceland ; and on his return, published a history of this last island, under the name of *Thule* ; with an account of the countries he had visited, and the observations he had made in his voyage. This work is now unhappily lost, except a few passages of it, quoted by Polybius and others, which only serve to raise our curiosity for the rest, and to heighten our regret for having undergone a fate common to it with the writings of other Greeks, who seem to have known more of these islands in and before the age of this Pytheas, than either they or the Romans did afterwards upon the discontinuance of the Phœnician trade, till the time of Cæsar's expedition."—Carte's Gen. Hist. of Engl. Vol. i. p. 38.

“ Two roads were laid across it, and reached from Sandwich to Caernarvon on one side, and from Dorsetshire to Suffolk on the other ; and the commerce of the shores was carried along them into the interior parts of the country. The great staple of the tin was no longer settled in a distant part of the island, It was removed from Scilly and settled in the isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of the trade. thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares ; and the trade was no longer carried on by vessels that coasted tediously along the shores of Spain and Gaul. The tin was now transported over the neighbouring channel, unshipped on the opposite coast, and sent upon horses across the land, or by boats along the rivers to Marseilles and Narbonne. In this state of the British commerce, the commodities imported into the island were earthenware, salt, and brass, both wrought and in bullion : and the tin was not, as it had been originally, the only export of the island. It still remained the principal article of our foreign trade. But with it were exported gold, silver, iron, and lead ; hides, cattle, corn, and slaves ;* dogs, gems, and muscle-pearls ;

* Slaves continued to be one of the articles of British export, not only while paganism predominated, but even for a great many ages after the nation thought proper to make a profession of Christianity.

polished horse-bits of bone, horse-collars, amber toys, and glass vessels.”*

Such, our historian continues, was the nature of our foreign traffic, when the Romans settled among us: and it instantly received a considerable improvement from them. This appears from that very remarkable circumstance in the interior history of the island, the sudden rise and commercial importance of London, within a few years after their settlement in the country. The trade was no longer carried on by the two great roads on the southern shore, or the staple continued in the Isle of Wight. The principal commerce still appears to have been confined to the south, and to the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Southampton and Sussex. But it was also diffused over the whole extent of the Roman conquests, and carried on directly from the western or the eastern shores, as well as the southern. New ports were opened on every side of the island, most of them indeed about the southern angle of it, but some along the eastern and the western coasts. Thus Middlesex had the port of London; Kent, the ports of Rhutupæ. Dubris, and Lemanis; Sussex, those of Adurnum, Andereda, and Novus; and Hampshire that of Magnus. Yorkshire also on one side had its port, Felix, and Lancashire on the other, its port, Sistuntian. These were evidently the commercial harbours of the Roman Britons. The articles introduced into the island at Sheen, in addition to those previously

* Whitaker's Manchester, Book 1. Chap. xi. 8vo. edit. vol. ii. p. 168—173.

mentioned, are said by our sagacious author to comprehend sugar, pepper, ginger, writing-paper, and perhaps some other similar commodities. The *Sacharum*, or sugar of the Romans, he observes, like our own, was the extracted honey of a cane, brought from Arabia or India, and used only for medical purposes. The articles sent out of the island, he adds, must have been partly the same as before, with the addition of *gagates* or jet, the British being the best and most abundant in Europe, and of the silvery marl of Kent and Essex, which was shipped off for the marshy countries on the Rhine; bears for the foreign amphitheatres, baskets, salt, corn and oysters. Lead, cattle, and hides are also mentioned. British dogs too are said to have been a very gainful traffic to the Romans. And as the interior parts of Britain, then beginning to be turned up by the plough, would produce at first the most luxuriant harvests, so the whole island freighted no fewer than eight hundred vessels with corn every year for the continent.* These, Mr. Whitaker observes, were the multiplied advantages which our British ancestors received from the settlement of the Romans among them. The

* The authorities adduced in support of the facts specified in the above long paragraph, are those of Tacit. Ann. Lib. xiv. c. 33; Antonin. Iter. 3 and 4; Ricard. Iter. 15; Notitia, Ptolem. Richard, p. 27; Antonin. and Ricard. *ibid*; Ricard. p. 27. and 18. and Iter. 15; Plin. Lib. xii. c. 8; Solinus, c. 22; Martial, Lib. Spect. Ep. 7. and Lib. xiv. E. 9. 99; Camden, p. 194; Juvenal, Sat. 4. and Camden, p. 2; Reinesius, p. 190, and Gale's Antoninus, p. 43; Gratius, p. 26; Camden, p. 2; &c. The facts in the preceding paragraphs rest on similar authorities.

mechanical arts, that had been previously pursued in the country, were considerably improved; and arts before unknown were brought into it. The varied treasures of our soil were now first discovered, or better collected. Our societies were combined into cities, our manners refined into politeness, and our minds enlightened with learning; agriculture, manufactures and commerce, were established among us. These were considerable advantages, but they were attended by another, greatly superior to them all. This was that momentous event, the introduction of Christianity,* of which some account will be given in another chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

On the ancient invasions of this country; especially those conducted by the Romans: causes and effects of the latter.

It is generally thought that Julius Cæsar and the Romans were not the first invaders of this island. Carte will have it that Divitiacus, a king of Soissons, invaded and subdued some part of it, twenty or thirty years anterior to Cæsar's memorable expeditions.† The settlement of the Belgæ in this country, at a still earlier period, is also thought to

* See Whitaker, as before, 75—79.

† Gen. Hist. of Engl. Vol. 1. p. 26.

have been in consequence of an invasion. The same would seem to have been the case with yet more early settlers, such as the Coraniaid, *y Ddraig Estren*, and others. But of these ancient invasions, very little can be said with any certainty. The Roman invasion, on the contrary, is an event of great notoriety, of which a very particular account has been transmitted to us from that extraordinary and celebrated individual, who was himself the very projector and conductor of it.

The reason which Cæsar gives for undertaking the invasion of the country is, the assistance the Britons had afforded to their Gallic neighbours in their wars with the Romans.* It probably might appear to him a sufficient reason; but in the eyes of strict justice it can have but very little weight. It is, however, much like the reasons that are generally advanced by heroes and conquerors in justification of their violent and destructive proceedings.

Our triads seem to give some degree of countenance to the fact, that the Gauls had received assistance from this country. They even assert that Cassivelaunus, or Caswallon, went over himself to Gaul, and appeared there at the head of sixty thousand men; and moreover, that he fought against a body of Cæsar's allies, and killed six thousand of them. But with this the triads connect a very odd story, making it the chief object of Cassivelaunus's expedition, to recover his mistress, Flur, whom Marchan, a Gallic prince of Gascony, had surreptitiously

* De Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 8.

seized, with a view of presenting her to Cæsar. In consequence of his victory, the story says, he recovered his mistress. This is so romantic a tale that one hardly knows what to make of it. The ingenious author of the "Mythology and Rites of the British Druids" does not hesitate to allegorize, or rather mythologize it. "The character of Flur," says he, "imports that token or pledge of union, amongst the professors of Druidism, which induced the Britons to assist their brethren of Gaul, as related by Cæsar, and thus furnished that great commander with a pretext for the invasion of this island."*

This was Cæsar's ostensible reason for invading this country. But he had doubtless other reasons and other motives, which weighed no less if they did not preponderate. No Roman general had ever before thought of conquering or invading Britain. That country was looked upon as belonging in a manner to another world; and could Cæsar but subdue it and add it to the Roman empire, it needed no great sagacity to discover that it would highly gratify his ambition, and add considerably to his fame in the opinion of the Roman people. These were momentous matters in the eyes of such a man as Cæsar, and they sufficiently account for his procedures against this country, which he repeatedly attempted to reduce under the power and annex to the empire of the Romans. Cæsar's *first* attempt was unsuccessful; nor does it appear that the *second*

* Page 447, 448.

afforded him much reason for boasting. Even some of his own countrymen thought he had *quite enough of it*; and many have been of opinion that he never was more roughly handled than on British ground. It does seem however that he did gain a few advantages the second time, and that our ancestors, for the sake of getting rid of him, made some humiliating or conciliatory professions, and perhaps promised the payment of something in the shape of tribute. But we have seen no clear evidence of its having been regularly paid for any length of time. Nor do we find that the Romans had any intercourse with Britain, except in a commercial way, from Cæsar's last departure, which was nearly sixty years before the birth of Christ, till the reign of Claudius, an interval of about a hundred years.

In Claudius's reign, Britain experienced another Roman invasion, which proved more successful than the former; and a great part of the island, after long and severe struggles, was reduced to the state of a Roman province. The country was soon held by the conquerors in high estimation, and regarded as one of their most valuable acquisitions. Several of the emperors honoured it with their presence, and their armies here were commanded by some of their most able and renowned generals.

The face of the country in the meantime assumed a different appearance, and the progress of improvement soon became rapid and extensive. Large tracts, formerly covered with thickets and forests, were now cleared and converted into cultivated fields, producing abundant crops of the finest corn, which besides

supplying the wants of the inhabitants, afforded a large surplus for foreign markets. Marshes also were drained, and the low lands near the sea, usually overflowed by the salt water, were secured by strong embankments, and effectually converted into good pasturage and arable lands. The whole country was likewise intersected with excellent roads, which were formed with immense skill and labour, made with the best and most durable materials, and often carried through extensive and almost impassable morasses.

Instead of the rude towns of former times, consisting of mere huts and hovels, numerous cities now sprung up, adorned with baths, amphitheatres, and all the insignia of Italian luxury and refinement. Ample means were also furnished for the cultivation of Roman literature, of which the higher ranks appear to have very generally availed themselves. All classes soon assumed the manners of their conquerors, and became as much Romanized as any one of the nations they had previously subdued. To crown the whole, Christianity appears to have been introduced among our ancestors, at an early period of their connexion with the Romans, under the auspices of Brân ap Llyr and his family, who had embraced that religion during their long residence at Rome. But what sort of Christianity it was that they did then profess and introduce among their countrymen, may admit of some question; for there were certainly two kinds of Christianity from the very first, as dissimilar to each other as light and darkness. This, however, is a point that has been

but little attended to ; nor is this a proper place in which to enter upon the discussion of it.

But of whatever sort that Christianity was which Brân and his family introduced among our ancestors, there is no reason to suppose that it met with general acceptance, or that the whole nation was converted to the belief and profession of it. It will not be very easy to prove that Christianity in any form was here a national and established religion before the days of Constantine ; if indeed before those of the memorable monk, Austin. Many absurd assertions have often been made, and readily credited by multitudes ; about the state of Christianity among the ancient Britons, at the same time they have not had the least foundation in truth, but have merited all possible contempt. This subject however must not here be enlarged upon.

The preceding hints exhibit some of the effects which the Roman conquest produced in this island, and may help us to judge whether that memorable revolution increased or diminished the former sum of national happiness and respectability. It will be necessary, ere we attempt to form an estimate, to add a few circumstances to those which have been already stated. We notice chiefly instances of national advantage and improvement, which were the result of that great change. But it also produced effects of a very different and opposite description ; the national character was degraded, the liberty and independence of the country were completely annihilated, the nation was drained of the choicest of its youth, who were forced into military service, and

employed in foreign wars, while multitudes of the common people were constrained to labour like slaves in the most servile occupations, belonging to public works carried on in different parts of the country; Of this they would sometimes most grievously complain. In short, all public spirit, and all generous and dignified feeling were utterly destroyed.

Upon the whole, therefore, after a careful examination of both sides of the question, it seems pretty clear that the Britons lost more than they gained, by their connexion with the Romans; and that the latter left this island, as was hinted before, in a much less happy and much less exalted condition than that in which they found it.

CHAPTER V.

Of the geography of Roman Britain, or the principal divisions of the country during the government of the Romans:—with some additional observations.

AN account has already been given of the ancient divisions of Britain, as they existed previously to the arrival of the Romans. Before we conclude the present sketch, it may not be improper briefly to notice those new divisions which took place under the direction of that celebrated people.

No one perhaps understood this subject better than Whitaker; we cannot therefore do amiss in placing

ourselves here chiefly under his guidance.—“ The Roman conquests among us were divided,” says he, “ in general into higher or Western, and lower or Eastern Britain, the one being separated from the other by a line that was carried through the length of the island. They were also divided in particular into six provinces, and distinguished by the six denominations of *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia*, *Maxima*, *Valentia*, and *Vespasiana*. And a regular itinerary, the first perhaps of Britain, appears to have been drawn up by *Lollius* for the whole.”*

I. *Britannia Prima* comprehended all the country that lies to the south of the *Thames* and of the *Severn*, and of a line drawn from *Cricklade* or its vicinity upon the one, to *Berkeley* or its neighbourhood on the other. It included eleven nations of the Britons, and contained about thirty-six stations, subject to *Ritupæ* or *Richborough*, the provincial capital.

II. *Britannia Secunda* comprized all the country that lies between the *Severn* and the *Dee*, contained three tribes of the Britons, and reckoned about twenty stations under *Isca*, or *Caerleon*, its capital. The three tribes it comprehended were, 1. The *Silures*, who originally inhabited the counties of *Hereford*, *Radnor* and *Monmouth*, and the eastern part of *Glamorganshire*, with the portions of the counties of *Gloucester* and *Worcester* lying on the west of the *Severn*. *Caerwent* was their metropolis.—2. The *Ordovices*, who inhabited the counties of *Montgomery*, *Merio-*

* Hist. Manchester, 1, 92, 8vo. ed.

neth, Carnarvon, Denbigh, and Flint, and those parts of Shropshire which are to the south and west of the Severn, to which may be added Mona, or the Isle of Anglesey.—3. The Dimetæ inhabited the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Brecknock, with the western part of Glamorganshire. Maridunum or Caermarthen was their metropolis.

III. Flavia, or Flavia Cæsariensis, took in all the central regions of the island, was limited by the two other provinces on the south and west, and by the Humber, the Don, and the Mersey, on the north, and had about eight tribes and fifty stations within it. Cirencester, Leicester, Lincoln, Caster, by Norwich; Colchester, Verulam, and London, were among the principal towns of this province.

IV. Maxima, or Maxima Cæsariensis, comprehended all the region which was bounded by the two seas, the wall of Hadrian on the north, and the Mersey, the Don, and the Humber, on the south; being the present counties of Durham and Westmoreland together with Yorkshire and Cumberland, except two small parts of each. Of this province York was the metropolis, if it were not also that of all the Roman possessions in Britain.

The 5th and 6th divisions, or provinces, i. e. Valentia and Vespasiana, were situated in the northern parts of Britain, about and beyond the great walls; and they were always held by the Romans on a very precarious tenure, as the hardy northern tribes were often apt to dispute their right to them: and on the decline of the Roman power, and for some time before the final departure of that people, they

appear to have been rapidly losing ground in those northern parts. They had been at vast pains in erecting mighty walls and fortifications across the country, in different quarters of those northern provinces, as a protection from the cruel depredations of the hostile Caledonians. They often proved however but a feeble and insecure defence; and when the legions were withdrawn they were never afterwards of any real benefit.

With the extinction of the Roman power in Britain the above geographical or provincial divisions of the island also ceased for ever; and they were subsequently to be traced only in the *Iters*, or *Itineraries* of Ptolemy, Antonine, and other ancient geographers. The face of the country in succeeding times assumed other forms, and exhibited very different lines of demarcation. Under the Saxons, England was at first divided into seven kingdoms, which were subsequently reduced to one. Alfred after that divided the kingdom into counties, which division is still continued; though the disproportion or inequality of size which some of them exhibit, makes what may be called a preposterous and whimsical appearance; the counties of Huntingdon and Rutland, for instance, compared with those of York and Lincoln. The pope also and his agents, divided the country into two ecclesiastical provinces, twenty-six dioceses, and about ten thousand parishes. But these divisions are foreign to our present design, and are here noticed only incidentally.

Towards the latter part, and in the decline of the power and sovereignty of the Romans in this island, their military force became greatly reduced, owing

to the increasing dangers that threatened them nearer home, and even in Italy itself; which made it necessary to recall all the troops that could be spared from the distant provinces. The slender force that remained in this island was then chiefly stationed on the northern or Caledonian frontier, being the quarter from which most danger was apprehended. This left most of the other coasts in a defenceless state; which being known to the Irish they very soon took advantage of it. “Apprized,” says Whitaker, “of the new military arrangements, and stimulated with the inviting prospect of conquest, they resolved upon an expedition against the whole western coast of England.”

This event took place, as the same writer informs us, in the year 395, during the minority of Honorius, and the regency of Stilicho, and under the conduct of Neil Na Gaillac, monarch of the Irish, who raised on that occasion the whole united power of his kingdom. This formidable assemblage or armament of Irish marauders, after having quitted their own ports, “ranged with their numerous navy along the coast of Lancashire, landed in the Isle of Man, and reduced it. They then made a descent upon North Wales, and subdued a considerable portion of the country. They disembarked a body of their troops in the dominions of the Dimetæ, and conquered the greatest part of them: and they afterwards extended their arms to the southern channel. This unexpected invasion, however, was soon afterwards repelled by forces sent over by Stilicho, and joined by a large body of the provincials, legionary citizens, and original Britons,

under the command of Canedag (Canedda) monarch of the Ottadini." Our historian further informs us, that the invaders were attacked, defeated, and driven to their ships, with so great a carnage that they never afterwards attempted any descents of conquest upon our western coasts.* But the period had now

* Such is the substance of Whitaker's account of that memorable event; and it seems to be in the main, and as far as it goes, tolerably correct. It is here introduced on account of the enormous evils which this conquest brought upon the Welsh people, and which must have far exceeded all other calamities that had befallen them, during the whole period of their connexion with the Romans. Where the above battle was fought does not appear. It probably took place in some part of the west of England, to which those marauders had extended their depredations; in this case it might terminate, as above described, in their total overthrow and complete expulsion from the country, so as to disable them from ever making a similar attempt upon that coast. But it does not appear that they were so soon driven out of Wales. On the contrary, it seems that they maintained their ground there for nearly fifty years longer, when they were entirely expelled by the natives, aided by Urien Rheged and the sons of Canedda, who afterwards took up their residence in that country, and became the ancestors of some of its present most distinguished families.—Here it may be just hinted, that there now exist in Wales some plain and strong indications of an Irish predominance, of some continuance, over that country, at some former period, for which there appears no way of accounting satisfactorily, but by advert-ing to this portion of British history. It may be also further noticed that the people of Wales were now treated with such brutal indignity by their Irish masters, that some of them were actually carried into captivity. One of the number was Padrig the son of Mawon, alias Padrig Maenwyn of Gowerland, commonly called Saint Patrick, who is said to have been then carried captive into Ireland, where he afterwards became the celebrated apostle and illuminator of that country. See Cambr. Biogr. art. *Padrig*.

arrived (adds our historian) that the Roman empire, having done the great work for which it was erected by Providence, was to be demolished for ever. God summoned the savage nations of the north to come and erase the mighty structure of their empire, and avenge the injuries of the nations around them. The Roman legionaries, once the invincible of the earth, now retired on every side towards the heart of the empire: and Rome, once the tyrant of the world, daily shrunk into herself; contracting the dimensions of her territories, and losing the formidableness of her name. In this awful crisis the Roman soldiers finally deserted the island of Britain, in the year of the Christian era 446; five hundred and one years after their first descent upon the island, and four hundred and three after their settlement in the country.”*

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.—*Sketch of the state and government of the British provinces and towns under the Romans; also of the legionaries and colonists. Effects of the Roman conquest and government on the state of the country, and on the national character.*

THE Roman empire was generally divided into provinces, each of which was governed by its own Prætor and Quæstor; the former was charged with the

* Whitaker, 6. 1, ch. 12, oct. ed. 265—269, also Carte 1. 169.

whole administration of the government, and the latter deputed to manage the finances under him. This was the case in this island. The conquered regions of Britain, as we have seen, were divided into six provinces ; and those provinces were governed by six prætors and the same number of quæstors. Each province formed a distinct government. They all acknowledged one head within the island, and were all subject to the authority of the proconsul, legate, or vicar of Britain.

The prætor always resided in the chief town of the province. There was his mansion-house denominated Palatium, or Domus Palatina, by the Romans. In this was assembled the principal court of justice ; judicial determinations were made by the prætor, and imperial decrees and prætorial edicts promulgated by his ministers. Other courts were opened under his commission in the other towns of the province, in which his deputies presided, inferior causes were determined, and the decrees and edicts equally promulgated. Each prætor had many of these deputies under him, as each province had many of these towns. Britannia Prima comprised about forty, Britannia Secunda fifteen, Flavia fifty, Valentia ten, and Maxima twenty-five. Britain, from the southern sea to the Friths of Forth and Clwyd, at the close of the first century, had about a hundred and forty towns in all.

These towns were of various degrees. They differed greatly from each other, not merely in the rank of their civil estimation, but even in the nature of their constitutions. They were particularly dis-

tinguished into the four orders of towns, municipal, stipendiary, colonies, and cities, invested with the Latin privileges. Most of them were probably stipendiary, i. e. tributary, or tribute-paying; and as such were subject to all the provincial regimen. Each was governed by a particular commandant, the deputy of the prætor, a merely annual officer. This præfect acted as an ædile, and therefore had the whole prætorial authority over the town and its vicinity, or dependences, delegated to him. But the garrison in the station must have been independent of him, and subject immediately to the prætorial authority. Like the prætor, he had his quæstor with him, appointed, no doubt, by the provincial quæstor, and authorised to receive the taxes of the town. These officers, in the Roman government, made a very conspicuous appearance. By the former was all the discipline of the civil polity regulated, while all the taxation economy was adjusted by the latter.

The payments assessed on the provincial Britons consisted of four or five different articles: one was an impost upon burials, which is particularly urged as a grievance by the spirited Boadicea. Another was a capitation tax, which is likewise insisted upon by that British heroine. A third was a cess upon lands, which amounted to two shillings in the pound, or a tenth of the annual produce in every thing that was raised from seed, and four shillings, or a fifth, on all that was raised from plants. A fourth was an impost on cattle. All the commercial imports and exports were subject to particular charges. Such in

general were the taxes of our British ancestors under the government of the Romans; and as they were the badges of the Roman dominion, they were naturally disliked by a recently conquered people; and embittered as these demands must have been to their minds, by the natural haughtiness and insolence of a victorious soldiery, they were necessarily hated by a brave and high-spirited nation. But they were not oppressive in themselves; perhaps they were no more than an equivalent for the burdens that had formerly been laid upon the Britons by their own governments. The amount of them probably was scarcely sufficient to answer the expenses of the civil and military establishments in the island. The burden was evidently inconsiderable, and the smallness of the collections at last stimulated the policy of avarice to abolish all the provincial taxes, and substitute even the Roman in their stead.

In this general condition of our towns, some were raised above the common rank by the communication of the *Jus Latii*, or the Latin privilege. This was an exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor; and the inhabitants of a Latin town were no longer governed by a foreign præfect and a foreign quæstor, but by a præfect and a quæstor elected among themselves. A Briton was their præfect, a Briton was their justiciary, and a Briton was their tax-gatherer. Every inhabitant of such a town that had borne the office of prætor or quæstor, was immediately entitled to the privilege of a Roman citizen. These rights the Romans first communicated to the conquered Latins, and afterwards extended to all the

Italians. Cæsar seems to have been the first that carried them beyond the bounds of Italy, and conferred them upon a provincial town. Novum Comum, certainly, and probably Nemansis, in Gaul, received this distinction from him, and were, perhaps, the first provincial towns that received it. It was subsequently bestowed upon several of our cities in Britain; such as Durnomagus or Caster, near Peterborough, Ptoroton or Inverness, Victoria or Perth, Theodosia or Dunbarton, Lugubalia or Carlisle, and Sorbiodunum or Salisbury, Corinium or Cirencester, Cataracton or Caterick in Yorkshire, Cambodunum or Slack in Longwood, and Coccium or Blackrode in Lancashire.

These were the names and these the constitutions of the towns which were inhabited principally by the Britons. But there were others which were chiefly possessed by the Romans, and had therefore a very different polity. These were colonies and municipies.

The commencement of the Roman colonies was nearly coeval with that of the Roman conquests. But the first that was planted in any of the provinces was projected by the genius of Caius Gracchus, and settled upon the site of the memorable Carthage. Others were established on the same principle in Britain; Claudius, settling a strong body of legionary veterans at Camulodunum or Colchester, the first of all the Roman colonies in Britain, founded also, together with the succeeding legates, no fewer than eight others in different quarters of the island, at Richborough, London, Gloucester, Bath, Caerleon on Usk, Chesterford near Cambridge, Lincoln, and Chester.

That colony was esteemed the head-quarters of the legion, where some of the principal cohorts were lodged, the eagle was reposed, and the commander was resident. Such was Deva, for the twentieth Valerian Victorious ; Eboracum, for the sixth Victorious ; Caerleon, the second Augustan ; and Glevum, for the seventh Twin Claudian. The rest were peopled by the other cohorts of those legions : so Caerleon, London, and Richborough, were all peopled by those of the second Augustan ; and the tenth Antonian was lodged in the common stations, as the tenth legion had three, the twelfth five, and the twenty-second six, in Germany and Gaul. Thus were large bodies of the soldiery kept together by the Romans, at Richborough, London, Colchester, Chesterford, Lincoln, and York, along the eastern side of the island ; and at Bath, Gloucester, Caerleon, and Chester, upon the western ; ready at once to suppress any insurrection at home, and repel any invasion from abroad. The Roman legionaries lived together without any great intermixture of the natives ; allowing few probably to reside with them, excepting the useful traders and necessary servants.

As their government was partly civil, the legionary colonists were subject to the Roman laws, were ruled by their own senators or *decuriones*, and enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens. As it was equally military, they strengthened their towns with regular fortifications, and guarded them with regular watches, had their names retained on the quarter-master's roll, and were obliged to march at the general's command. But as in a series of years, the males in

the colonies would necessarily increase, and as they were all of them legionaries by birth, upon any military exigence a draught would be made out of the colonists, and such a number levied as was requisite for the occasion. And these towns naturally assumed the names of the legions to which the colonists belonged, frequently accompanying, and sometimes superseding their British appellations.

The Roman yoke appears not to have been borne very patiently at first by our ancestors. But at a subsequent period they became better reconciled to it, and a good understanding took place between them and their masters. Whitaker observes, that the privilege of Roman citizenship was frequently communicated to individuals among the Britons, and at last bestowed upon all of them. In the towns distinguished by the Latin liberties, as before observed, it became the common right of all that had borne the offices of *ædile* or *quæstor* in them. But when Antoninus Pius was invested with the imperial authority, these narrow restraints were taken away, and the Roman citizenship was extended to every Briton of property and worth,—it ought to have been extended to all, and the cunning avarice of Caracalla communicated what the virtuous wisdom of Pius should have bestowed. By this act the lower orders of Britons were released from a disgraceful punishment, and no longer liable to be scourged with rods. The higher were rescued from a disgraceful exclusion, and admitted to a participation of marriages and a communion of honours with the Romans. All the inhabitants being now created citizens of Rome, were placed

on a footing of equality with their Roman masters, empowered to elect their own officers, and left at liberty to be governed by their own townsmen.* From this it may be justly inferred that the Romans granted only what they were afraid or were unable to withhold.

Notwithstanding we have shewn, in the former part of this sketch, that the Britons, when Cæsar visited them, were not in that rude and barbarous state which many have supposed, yet it must be confessed that the country received many important improvements in consequence of its becoming a part of the Roman empire. The arts of civil and social life, with all the learning and knowledge which distinguish the Roman people, were soon introduced among our ancestors, and had a wonderful effect on the state of the country and the character of the nation. New towns were built, many in number, and on an improved plan; and new roads were formed to facilitate the mutual intercourse of those towns, as well as that of the different parts of the country. Woods and forests were cleared, fens and morasses drained, and salt or sea marshes embanked, agriculture, trade, and commerce universally encouraged, and surprisingly advanced. Such superabundance of corn was produced that nearly a thou-

* For a fuller display of the statements given in this chapter, and the authorities by which they are supported and substantiated, the reader is referred to Whitaker's *Manchester*, book i. chap. viii. from which they have been here extracted and occasionally abridged, owing to the writer's opinion of their general authenticity and correctness.

sand sail of ships are said to have been employed in exporting it to foreign countries. In short, this island appears to have been, while connected with the Romans, justly considered as a very important part of their empire; and whatever obligations our ancestors were laid under to their Roman masters, for promoting the improvement of the country, or on any other account, it is pretty certain that they were all amply repaid by the numerous and valuable benefits which the imperial government derived from the country.

At the same time it is impossible to look without concern and shame upon the frivolity and dissipation which the Romans were but too diligent and too successful in introducing among our ancestors. The effect on the national character seems to have been most unhappy. It may account for the degenerate appearance which the Britons exhibited on the departure of the Roman legions, so very different from that which they manifested when the Romans first assailed their country, and when the invaders were so gallantly resisted under the magnanimous conduct of Caractacus. In fine, it is sufficiently evident that when the Romans withdrew themselves from this island, they left it in a considerably worse condition than that in which they found it.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO THE NORTH
OF IRELAND IN THE YEAR 1787.

Monday, July 15th, 1787.

LEFT Isle of Whithorn at four P. M.; travelled through byways to the beach near Phisgall; found the lanes not the pleasantest in the world, especially near the shore, where the steepness of the precipices and the ruggedness of the roads might have occasioned a stumble that possibly would have been our last. Launched the small boat a prodigious distance over a very stony strand, got it at last afloat, and found ourselves on board about seven o'clock. The wind tolerably fair, and the water smooth. Sailed all night round the Mull of Galloway, Port Patrick, and Kirkholm; made Loch Ryan before break of day. The little town of Stranraer at the bottom of the bay, the hills to the east and west, studded with elegant mansions, amidst hanging woods and cultivated glens, formed a scene truly beautiful.

Tuesday, 16th.—Had, in passing, a fine view of the seat of the late Countess Dowager of Galloway. The situation not unpleasant, and the fields around manifesting the hand of cultivation, and bearing every promise of future improvement. Steered out of the Loch by eleven. Saw the rock of Ailsa at a distance: it appeared like a large sugar loaf, inhabited solely by solan geese and other species of

waterfowl, which, in all probability, will not be disturbed in the possession of it. Encountered a very rough sea, and such weather as is not usual at this season of the year. Touched Sanda Isle, and the Mull of Cantire, and came to anchor in Church Bay, in the island of Rathlin. The chalky cliffs of this island, with their venerable covering of brown rock, form a very picturesque object from the sea. Went ashore; found a church without a roof, a gentleman (Mr. Gage, the sole proprietor of the island) without a house, and a number of sick without a physician. Here is a clergyman of the Church of England, who lives in a decent parsonage house, and is on good terms with his flock, besides a Roman Catholic priest. Plantations extensive in some parts; some good sheep walks; a few scattered fields of corn, hemp, and flax. No native quadrupeds, excepting rats and mice; foxes, hares, and rabbits unknown here; horses and sheep extremely small: the former very serviceable and surefooted, the latter delicious mutton. The inhabitants a simple, industrious and honest race, consequently unacquainted with the tedious and impoverishing processes of civil law.

“ O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint !”

Virg. Georg. ii. 458.

The language mostly spoken, Irish; the huts most wretched, consisting of a few loose stones cemented with earth, and the miserable looking roofs covered with turf. The island* contains a hundred

* “ The island of Rathlin is five miles in length, and one in breadth: it contains about two thousand plantation acres; there

and forty families, and about twelve hundred souls ; is about five miles in length, and one mile in breadth.† Some of the islanders subsist principally by fishing ; a few of these came on board as soon as we appeared in the bay, to barter dried fish and half starved fowls for bread and clothing, but seemed to have very little idea of money. Some maintain themselves and

are in it one hundred and thirty families, and eleven hundred inhabitants.”—*Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, 1758. [ED.]

† “ In conversation, they always talk of Ireland as a foreign kingdom, and really have scarcely any intercourse with it, except in the way of their little trade. Small as the spot is, one can nevertheless trace two different characters among its inhabitants. The Kenram or western end, is craggy and mountainous ; the land in the valleys is rich and well cultivated, but the coast destitute of harbours. A single native is here known to fix his rope to a stake driven into the summit of a precipice, and from thence, alone and unassisted, to swing down the face of a rock in quest of the nests of sea-fowl. From hence, activity, bodily strength, and self-dependence are eminent among the Kenramer men. Want of intercourse with strangers has preserved many peculiarities, and their native Irish still continues to be the universal language. The Ushet end, on the contrary, is barren in its soil, but more open and well supplied with little harbours : hence its inhabitants are become fishermen, and are accustomed to make short voyages, and to barter. Intercourse with strangers has rubbed off many of their peculiarities, and the English language is well understood, and generally spoken by them. Near Ushet is a lake of fresh water, upwards of a mile in circumference, one hundred and forty-four feet above the level of the sea. There is also another lake in the opposite end of the island, called Cligan, two hundred and thirty-eight feet above the level of the sea. The highest hill is called Ken Truan : it is four hundred and forty-four feet high. Near Ushet is Doon Point, remarkable for its resemblance to the Causeway ; its pillars have commonly five, six, or seven sides.”—*Dublin Penny Journal for 1833*, p. 24. [ED.]

their families by collecting a species of sea weed, which, when dried, is manufactured into kelp by a process of calcination, and disposed of to linen bleachers. There exists sufficient evidence that this island was inhabited, and in a state of civilization, as early as the commencement of the sixth century. Columbus, the celebrated missionary of the north, founded a religious establishment here; and it was in the midst of this peaceful calm, while basking in the sunshine of pious and domestic retirement, that the unoffending inhabitants were invaded and massacred* by a cruel horde of northern savages that overwhelmed the island. A number of small tumuli were, a few years ago, excavated here: within were discovered heaps of human bones, a stone coffin, brazen swords, spear heads and other curiosities, too truly indicating the nature of the scenes that had passed on this holy spot. The fortress in which Bruce took refuge, when driven out of Scotland at a subsequent period, is still visible, and is called after his name 'Bruce's Castle.' The fossils found here are basalt and limestone.

Wednesday, 17th.—Weighed anchor and stood for Londonderry; but not seeing any thing of the cutter which we wished to accompany thither, and the wind dying away, we bore down to the southward, and steered into Ballicastle Bay. Ballicastle is a

* "In the year 795, the northern nations first invaded, and desolated the Irish coast, particularly the island of Reeran (Roghery or Rathlin) which they destroyed with fire and sword, treating the professors of Christianity with the utmost cruelty."—*Hamilton's Antrim*. [Ed.]

pretty considerable town, almost entirely the creation of one man, a Mr. Boyd, who erected a church and a harbour, opened public roads, established manufactories of glass, and collieries—in short, brought the town and country to a wonderful state of civilization and prosperity. He died a few years ago, and, what is worse for the inhabitants, public spirit died with him; for its trade and commerce seem no longer to flourish. The eastern side of this town terminates in the bold promontory of Fairhead, or Benmore (*Pen mawr**) from its size: between which and the town lie the collieries called Tor-head or Morlais, in an abrupt bank overhanging the sea; but the situation is so open, and the anchorage is so precarious, that it is not very convenient for embarkation. The fossils peculiar to the soil are basalt, yellow, gray, and white freestone, limestone, a black shivery slate. Sailed along shore; the afternoon remarkably fine; the sky without a cloud, and the sea without a ripple; every object distinctly visible for many miles. Came to anchor in Red Bay; went ashore; the vale fertile and populous, bearing evident marks of the hand of man. A prodigious number of men employed on the public roads. Few things contribute more to the improvement of a country than good roads, producing advantage to the husbandman, and affording encouragement to the traveller. Cushendall, a small neat village, situated in a low valley, encompassed by lofty hills. On the west, in a prominent and advantageous situation,

* Pen-mawr, the Great Head.

and on a hill overlooking the village are the remains of a very extensive fortification.* The surrounding country capable of better cultivation; but the rod of oppression has the effect of checking the progress of improvement. Near the shore are many remarkable caverns, said to have been formerly the retreats of smugglers and pirates. Remained here until it was too dark to distinguish objects, so got on board again, and sailed for Glenarm Bay, where we found the long-expected cutter riding. The wind was high during the night.

Thursday, 18th.—Particularly struck with the extreme richness and grandeur of the scenery on shore. In front the beautiful little village of Glenarm, situated in a retired nook, bounded on either side by lofty hills, and washed by the sparkling waters of a mountain stream. On a commanding bank hard by stands a prominent and noble pile of building, bearing the appearance of a baronial castle† of the fifteenth century, still inhabited by the Antrim family,

* This is probably Surg Eden. "Its summit is a flat plain, perfectly green, where formerly the great Fin M'Comhall and Ossian were lodged within a fortress. There is a mound on the summit not unlike a *rath* called Dun Clanamourne; or it may be Count M'Martin, where there is now a school house."—*Guide to the Giant's Causeway*, p. 63. [ED.]

† The approach to it (Glenarm Castle) is by a lofty barbican, standing on the northern extremity of the bridge. Passing through this, a long terrace, overhanging the river, and confined on the opposite side by a lofty, embattled curtain wall, leads through an avenue of ancient lime trees to the principal front of the building; the appearance of which, from this approach, is very impressive. Lofty towers, terminated with cupolas and vanes,

whose property it is; the present earl spends three or four months annually here. The entrance is through a lofty barbican, and a fine avenue of ancient lime trees: on another side is a romantic glen, bounded on the right and on the left by irregular walls of basaltic columns rising upwards of two hundred feet high. In the cemetery adjoining the church are the battered remains of an old monastery of Franciscan friars. Leaving this spot with regret, we sailed back along the same track, and put into Cushindun Bay. Landed, walked into the country along a pleasant bottom. Met with much civility from a Mr. M'Neil, an officer of the customs. Very interesting and romantic scenery: the beautiful hill of Lurgeidan with its basaltic base and flat summit, eleven hundred or twelve hundred feet high, clothed with the finest verdure; the lofty and rugged Tieubelli rising thirteen hundred or fourteen hundred feet. A small mound, near the shore, shewn by the natives as the grave of Ossian. A little to the N. W. are the remains of a fortification* bearing

occupy the angles of the building; the parapets are crowned with gables, decorated with carved pinnacles, and exhibiting various heraldic ornaments. The demesne is well wooded, and rather extensive.—*Dublin Penny Journal*, 1833-4. [ED.]

* This perhaps may be Dunmaul Castle. "In the immediate vicinity of Garron Point, on an acute prominent headland, elevated nearly 300 feet above the sea shore, on which it stands, is the rock of Dunmaul, on the summit of which are the remains of an ancient fort, having various entrenchments. Oral history states that in olden time all the rents of Ireland were paid at this place, and that the last Danish invaders embarked from hence."—*Dublin Penny Journal*. [ED.]

distinctly the marks of antiquity; could not learn its name. Blowing hard off shore—the little vessel riding in great safety.

Friday, 19th.—Pursued our course this morning in company with the cutter, the ‘Royal George;’ the wind favourable, but the weather threatening; a competition in sailing between the two cutters amused us much; the encouragement of such matches might be productive of considerable public utility. Our competitor got much ahead of us by noon. The weather moderated. Spoke ‘The John of Liverpool,’ homeward bound from Greenland, with six fish on board. A splendid view of the shore and coast, jutting headlands of storied columns, sloping promontories, and quiet harbours, barren hills and wooded glens; in fact, nothing can exceed the romantic beauty and chequered variety of the scenery before us. The most magnificent and extraordinary objects that strike the eye are Benmore, alias Benmawr, ‘Carric a Rede, (*Cerrig y Rhyd*,) Bengore, Bengawr, (*Bengafr*,†) Cape Pleaskin, Dunluce Castle, and the Giant’s Causeway. Carric a Rede is an insulated rock, eighty feet above the level of the sea, and has, no doubt, been separated from the adjacent land by some extraordinary operation of nature, and is inaccessible on every side but one, where, under the shelter of an impending cliff, a luxuriant herbage flourishes, and a fisherman’s cot is built. To connect the fisherman’s romantic habitation with the main-

† Otherwise called the “Goat’s Promontory.” *Pengafr* is therefore a very probable etymology.—*Ed.*

land, without encountering at all times the turbulence of the tide, a bridge is constructed of cables, which are fastened into iron rings mortised into the rock on either side. Between these cables is laid a number of small planks about a foot wide : these form the pathway, while a single hand-rope serves for a battlement. The undulations and the frightful height of this rude construction do not suggest very comfortable ideas to a tourist who is not reckless of life. The gulf to cross is upwards of 60 feet in width, and 80 in depth. Bengore, alias Bengafr, or Benmawr, is a beautiful promontory, not so high as Benmawr, but is composed of the same materials, as indeed is the whole of the coast for fifty or sixty miles. In this promontory is a bay called Port na Spania, so named from one of the Spanish Armada having been wrecked here. Cape Pleaskin, a beautiful object, with its stupendous pillars of variegated basalt, a perfect picture ; and the ' Giant's Causeway ' with its gigantic range of storied pillars, tier above tier, such a scene cannot well be imagined by the most enthusiastic mind, and is deserving of the minutest attention. Agreed to explore it on a future day. Ennistrahul Island on the larboard bow. About 10 P. M. tacked, and stood for Loch Foyle ; but not knowing the channel, thought it more prudent to lie to all night.

Saturday, 20th.—This morning about 3 o'clock A. M. descried a sail, and gave chase, supposing she was a smuggler ; discovered her to be a revenue cutter in chase of us ! Stood for Londonderry. Sailed close along shore, and had a good view of this 'part

of the northern coast, Malin Head, Carn, Culdaff, and Culdaff House. The wind more favourable and more of it. Several fishing-boats out. These boats are of a peculiar form, and are termed Norway skiffs; they bear a rough sea tolerably well, but are top-heavy, consequently are often capsized. Heard that two of them were a few weeks ago upset in a gale of wind, and all hands on board, ten in number, perished. One of the boats came alongside of us: we engaged one of the fishermen as pilot for half-a-guinea. Approached the Tuns, shallow sands at the mouth of the Loch, about 9 o'clock. Came to anchor and disembarked. Found the people very rude and inhospitable; could scarcely procure a draught of milk; could not help contrasting this conduct with that of their Celtic brethren in Wales. Weighed anchor about 11 A.M. The wind s.s.w. By working to windward, entered the narrow mouth of the Loch, which is about eighteen miles long, and nine broad in the widest part. Several handsome residences on either side, with not unpleasant prospects. Passed Green Castle, and an old ruined fort; the latter intended, no doubt, to guard the harbour. Anchored opposite Red Castle, a genteel house, the property of a Mr. Carey, about half-way up the Loch. Something like a Danish camp on a hill to the eastward; could not ascertain its name. Got into the boat, and made for Londonderry. A rowing match between the crews of the two cutters entertained us much; never witnessed a match so well contested, even on the Thames. They rowed about fourteen miles within two hours. Passed Culmore Fort, where, and on the

opposite side, batteries were planted by the rebel armies to intercept any relief designed for the starving garrison at Londonderry in 1688.* A little higher is

* Mr. M'Gregor, in his 'True Stories from the History of Ireland,' thus writes of the siege of Derry: "About the middle of July, the usual means of subsistence had become so completely exhausted, that the flesh of horses, dogs, and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauseous substances, were purchased at extravagant prices, and eagerly devoured. At this period, according to Walker's Diary, a pound of horse-flesh cost 1s. 8d.; a quarter of a dog, 5s. 6d.; a dog's head, 2s. 6d.; a cat, 4s. 6d.; a rat, 1s.; a mouse, 6d.; a pound of greaves, 1s.; a pound of tallow, 4s.; a pound of salted hides, 10d.; a quart of horse-blood, 1s.; a quart of meal 1s.; a handful of sea-wreck, 2s. Water, which was their only drink, was extremely dear, and could not be procured but with great danger. But towards the close of the month of July, even these miserable resources were nearly exhausted; and on the 28th no means of subsistence could be found for more than two days. Still Walker, their clerical governor, assured his famishing and ghastly audience from the pulpit, that the Almighty would speedily grant them deliverance; and while his congregation were returning from divine service, on the 30th of July, with their minds yet warm from a sermon delivered with all the earnestness of a man inspired, they discovered three ships in the Lake making way to the town. Kirke, after abandoning them for six weeks, having now thought fit, in the extremity of their distress, to make a hazardous attempt for their relief. These vessels consisted of the Phoenix, Captain Douglas, laden with several hundred bolls of meal, and the Mountjoy, Captain Browning, with 135 tons of beef, peas, flour and biscuit, under the escort of the Dartmouth frigate, commanded by Captain Leake. All eyes were now fixed on these interesting objects; while several cannons were discharged, and a crimson flag slowly waved from the steeple of the cathedral, to signify the extremity of their distress. *Now or never!* was the simultaneous cry of the emaciated multitude on the walls, as the ships approached under an incessant fire from the enemy's batteries on both sides of the river. They passed the fort of Culmore without sustaining any material injury; and the besieged

Boom Hall ; opposite, on a narrow part of the river, is the memorable spot on which, during the siege, the boom was laid across. The boom consisted of strong pieces of timber united by iron chains, and strengthened by cables. Arrived at Londonderry.* An extensive harbour, with a number of shipping. It is rather remarkable that vessels of such size should be able to sail up, while the navigation is apparently so

were filled with transports of joy, which were almost instantaneously succeeded by despair, when the Mountjoy, after breaking the boom, rebounded with violence, and ran aground, while the enemy, rushing in crowds to the water-side, launched their boats to board her ; but the Mountjoy, firing a broadside at the enemy, rebounded from the shore, and floated again in deep water. Captain Douglas, of the *Phoenix*, was at this time warmly engaged as he passed up, on the breaking of the boom by the gallant *Browning*, who, while his ship lay aground, was killed by a musket ball, with four of his men. King William settled a pension on his widow for her life, and with his own hands placed a chain of gold about her neck in presence of the court. The victuallers now continued their progress without further molestation up the river ; and, at ten o'clock at night, cast anchor at the ship-quay gate, amidst the acclamations of the famished garrison and inhabitants, and the ringing of bells, intermingled, no doubt, with many a pious ejaculation for this providential deliverance. ' For at this time,' says Walker, ' we had only nine horses left, and one pint of meal to each man. Hunger and fatigue of war had so prevailed among us, that of 7500 men regimented at the commencement of the siege, we had now alive but about 4300, of whom at least one-fourth part were rendered unserviceable.' The besieging army kept up a heavy fire during a great part of the night, but at day-break they abandoned the position which, for 105 days, they had occupied before Londonderry, having lost eight or nine thousand men in their unsuccessful attempts to reduce that city."—[Ed.]

* " Londonderry is distant 115 miles from the Castle of Dublin ;

difficult and insecure, our boats grounded repeatedly. The town is pleasantly situated on the river Foyle; has four main streets, and several smaller; is surrounded by embattled walls in good repair, about a mile long, and eight feet broad, on which grows a herb resembling ivy, said to be good for swellings; it is called by the inhabitants pellitory. A pleasant walk on the parapets. The 61st regiment of foot

it consists of four main streets issuing from the exchange, and terminating at a gate denominated from the street; the smaller streets and lanes observe a similar arrangement. The streets are well paved and lighted. The cathedral is a Gothic building erected in the year 1633: the original tower was lately ornamented with a beautiful spire. The town-hall and market-house were erected in the year 1692, over which are the courts of justice, occasionally used as a ball-room. The new gaol, the episcopal palace, and the linen hall are spacious, and well adapted for their respective destinations. The walls, though built in 1614, are in very fine repair, and flanked with bastions. The platform on the top of the rampart is spacious and covered with a parapet; the quay, and a great portion of the city, are situated outside the walls. The harbour is deep, wide, and tolerably secure, as the sand banks at the mouth of Loch Foyle do not obstruct the navigation, there being at all times of the tide fourteen fathoms of water in the channel. A very extensive commercial intercourse exists between this town, the West Indies, and America. This city and its liberties constitute a distinct county, enjoying all the privileges attached to such a distinction. Its civil government is vested in a mayor, aldermen, recorder, and sheriffs. On the attainder of O'Neale, the county of Derry was granted by James I. to the citizens of London, on stipulation of colonizing the district with English settlers, by whom the town was new modelled and fortified. It was constituted an episcopal see in the year 1158. There were some monastic institutions founded here at a very early period. In the year 1790, a very fine wooden bridge was erected over the river Foyle, by Mr. Cox, an American."—*The Traveller's New Guide through Ireland*, 1815. [ED.]

stationed here. The cathedral, which is built in the Gothic style, has an ancient appearance, but was erected as late as the year 1633. The tower is cracked in consequence of two guns having been placed on the roof during the siege.

Sunday, 21st.—This day shamefully and awfully profaned. Could not help observing the indecency and impiety of publicly offering articles for sale in the streets. On inquiry found that the sabbath-breakers were mostly Roman Catholics: another proof amongst a hundred of the bad effects of interdicting the Scriptures, of keeping the unhappy people in darkness and ignorance! “Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.” “That the soul be without knowledge it is not good.” Much pleased with the service at the cathedral; excellent music and singing, and a crowded congregation. The clergyman took his text from Psalm cxlv. 17: “The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.” The preacher observed that mankind might be sensible of the moral obligations of justice, but that they did not always perceive the reasons on which they hinged; or, perceiving them, were unwilling to be determined by them: that human justice is liable to much obstruction for want of proper evidence, and from the obscurity of facts; and where its evidence is complete, the intricacy of a case, and the specious appearance of probability on either side, may render its merits imperceptible; that even where matters are clearest, worldly considerations too often pervert the judgment; prejudices of hatred or favour, the solicitations of superiors, or the fasci-

nations of bribery may blind the eyes of men of understanding, and make them "acceptors of persons" in their judicial administrations; but that the allwise and omniscient God must be inaccessible to such sinister and grovelling influences; that being perfectly acquainted with the rules of equity, and necessarily judging of things as they really exist; and being able to execute what is right and fit according to that knowledge, without any possible temptation to deviate from it, he is incapable of being moved or misled by any bias, or awed by any power: that such a Being must evidently always act without partiality, prejudice, or respect of persons, and therefore must be "righteous in all his ways."

In order to prove that the Lord is holy in all his works, Mr. ——— remarked that he who has will united to reason must be a moral agent: that he who has reason in the highest and most perfect degree, must be in the highest and most perfect degree a moral agent: that he who is above every temptation to be bad, must be uniformly good: or, in other words, that he who has an infinite understanding, as well as an unbiassed will, must always perceive the best motives, and act in conformity with them, consequently must be "holy in all his works." The arguments were clearly laid down, and the discourse generally written in a nervous and forcible style; but on the whole it tended more, I thought, to display the oratorical powers of the preacher, than to edify or improve the hearer.

Monday, 22nd.—Visited the fustian and cotton manufactory, and other public buildings in the town;

also a roomy old house called the bishop's palace. It contained a tolerable good collection of paintings, &c.; a delicious picture by West—subject, the death of General Wolfe. Another, by the same, the resurrection of our Saviour: Moses sweetening the waters of Meribah, by Nicolo Poussin, &c.; models of the Pantheon and the triumphal arches at Rome; antique statues, vases, and bas-reliefs, by Paoli, Panini, &c. In the garden are a spacious hothouse and green house, containing a good collection of rare and foreign plants; the grounds mostly in great disorder and much neglected. The pleasure-house is painted in a very tasteful manner, being an imitation of basaltic pillars, and an excellent representation of the Giant's Causeway. One of the party thought the basaltic columns were real; much amused at the deception. Crossed the ferry, and took a post-chaise at the waterside for Coleraine. Had an unfavourable afternoon, much rain, attended with thunder and lightning. Passed Daisy Hill, a remarkably pretty seat belonging to Mr. M'Causland. Reached Newton Limevaddy by 4 o'clock; a neat little town, pleasantly situated on the river Roe; here are a church and a market-house, nothing else very remarkable. It being a market day, had a good opportunity of observing the manners and dresses of the natives, and the produce of the neighbourhood. Arrived at Coleraine,* a very consi-

* The city of Coleraine, or Bannina, as it was anciently styled, lies about two miles and a half from that curious basaltic structure, Craig-a-huller; the road, passing the seat of M'Naghten, Esq. is rather an agreeable ride. The county of the city of Cole-

derable town four miles from the sea. The river Bann runs through it. It was a place of some consequence in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, during the administration of the lord deputy, Sir John Perrot, and was a see, St. Carbreus, who flourished about the year 540, being the first bishop. The church is a handsome building, and very old, the date of it not

rairie, otherwise called O'Cahan's country, is of ancient appointment; it was divided, as we learn from the *Hibernica* of Harris, into ballyboes, as Tyrone, and contained 547 of these measures, or 34,187 acres. The town appears to have been originally laid out by Sir John Perrot. It was planted with English colonists, and the very houses are said to have been framed in London, and sent over here to be erected. Until very lately some of the black oak frames, filled with plastered wicker, were to be seen on one side of the Diamond. After the retirement of Sir John, Coleraine fell greatly to decay; in 1618, the walls and ramparts were built of sods; there was no provision for the mounting of a single piece of artillery, and the number of inhabitants scarcely sufficient to man one-sixth part of the walls; but the introduction of a manufacture, and enjoyment of a free trade, united with the industry and good conduct of its inhabitants, have rendered Coleraine not only the second town in the county, but a flourishing, beautiful, and happy settlement. Coleraine is, at present, about three quarters of a mile in length, and is intersected by several cross streets. The old town stood on the east side of the Bann; but Captain-street, and the suburb of Killowen, are now included in the precincts of the city. There is an excellent linen trade carried on here; and it is a market, post, and fair town. The family of Harger derive the title of Barons from this place. About the year 540, St. Carbreus, a disciple of St. Finian of Clonard, was made first bishop of Coleraine. To him succeeded St. Eonall, who was bishop in the time of St. Columb, the founder of the abbey of Derry. In 930, Ardmedius, abbot of Coleraine, was cruelly murdered by the Danes; and in 1171, Manus M'Dunlave plundered this church and several others. In 1213, Thomas M'Ucchtry and the Gauls of Ulster, erected a castle

precisely known ; it is kept in good order. Much delighted with the beautiful seat of Mr. Jackson ; the summer-house ingeniously and elegantly thatched, the fences and gates of wickerwork, wattled in the neatest manner imaginable.

Tuesday, 26th.—Left Coleraine this morning, and travelled leisurely towards the Causeway : within

here, for which purpose they raised all the pavement, and destroyed every part of the abbey, the church only excepted. To the west of the town stood a monastery, called the Monastery of the Bann, founded in the fifth century, by the noble family of the O'Cahans, or by the M'Evelins. In 1244, it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary ; and, in 1484, was reformed by the Dominican order. In 1560, Sir Robert Savage, Knt. of Ulster, an excellent soldier, was buried here. And in 1644, this monastery was erected into a university, by the general council of Rome. In the Hibernia Dominica many interesting particulars are recorded of this ancient establishment ; amongst others, a remarkable triumph of the Virgin's image over the Scotch bishop, Brutus Babington, and his attendants, is detailed at full length. The landed property of the monastery of the Bann was resigned into the hands of commissioners employed by James the First, and by him granted to the London Society. The last prior was Shane O'Neill. The present church is parochial, and is a rectory in the diocese of Connor. The bridge over the river Bann is built of stone and wood ; the piers are stone, the flooring, span pieces, and ceiling of wood. Such bridges are very proper where there are both a rapid current and a great body of water. From the bridge, on the north side, is seen the pretty seat of — Jackson, Esq. ; and to the south, the river view is extremely rich and beautiful. The fishery of the Bann has long been celebrated for its productiveness ; it was, at different periods, the property of different persons and bodies ; namely, the Protector Cromwell, the earls of Donegall, the London Society, &c. At present, one fishery belongs to the Society, the other to the Donegall family. The value of course varies with the prices of provisions ; the average rent of each is probably about one thousand pounds per annum, &c. — *Guide to the Giant's Causeway*, 1834. [ED.]

about four miles of this lies Dunluce Castle,* a very extensive but dilapidated edifice, situated on the margin of the sea, so that the walls and towers seem only a continuation of a perpendicular rock, which is several feet high, and is washed by the waves. The entire area of rock, which is detached from the land by a wide and deep chasm, is completely occu-

* The walls of the building were never very lofty, but, from the great area which they inclose, contained a considerable number of apartments. One small vaulted room is said to be inhabited by a Banshee, whose chief occupation is sweeping the floor : this story originates in the positive fact that the floor is at all times as clean as if it had been just then swept ; but this difficulty can be explained, without the introduction of Maw Roi, the fairy, by the fact that the wind gains admittance through an aperture on a level with the floor, and thus preserves the appearance of cleanliness and freedom from dust just now described. In the north-eastern end is a small room actually projecting over the sea, the rocky base having fallen away ; and from the door of this apartment there is a very awful view of the green sea beneath. The rock on which the castle stands is not surrounded by water, but is united, at the bottom of the chasm, to the main land, by a ledge of rock, a little higher than the surface of the ocean. The castle was entered by a bridge, formed in the following manner :—two parallel walls, about eight feet asunder, thrown across the chasm, connected the rock with the main land : upon these, planks were laid cross-wise for the admission of visitors, and removed immediately after the passage was effected. At present, but one of the walls remains, about thirteen inches in thickness ; and the only pathway to the castle is along its summit, over the awful rocky chasm. On the main land, close to the castle, a second collection of similar buildings are seen, erected at a later period, by one of the Antrim family, in consequence of a melancholy occurrence amongst the domestics in the castle. A small apartment on the verge of the rock gave way, and fell into the ocean, which so alarmed the female part of the family, that additional apartments were erected for their accomodation upon the main land. This is said to have happened during the occupancy of Catherine Man-

pied by the building. It was the ancient residence of the lords of Antrim, was entered by a drawbridge placed over the frightful chasm, and, before the invention of gunpowder, it must have been impregnable. Such fortifications as these are the productions of mere necessity, as they are constructed only for security from rival chieftains or roving pirates, with little regard to convenience, and with considerably less to pleasure and elegance. Its exact date is not known.

Arrived at Bushmills, a neat little village on the river Bush, at the mouth of Ballintra Bay. Two miles further, along a good road, for which the

ners, widow of George Villiers, the great Duke of Buckingham, who married Randall, the first Marquis of Antrim. Though all accurate knowledge of the date of erection, and name of the founder of Dunluce Castle are completely lost, yet the history of its proprietors for the few last centuries is extremely interesting, and affords a very characteristic account of the state of society in the feudal periods of the 15th and 16th centuries. It has been conjectured that De Courcy, Earl of Ulster, originally founded this castle: but the architecture is not of so very ancient a date. In the 15th century it was held by the English; at which period it appears to have fallen into the hands of a noble English family, called by Camden, M'Willies, from whose hands it passed into the possession of M'Donalds of the Isles; and to their descendants it belongs at this day. The M'Willies, now generally called M'Quillans, were the descendants of the De Burgos, a noble English family, who were once lords of that part of the county of Antrim usually denominated the Rout. In Hamilton's Letters is a tolerably perfect account of the unfortunate family of the M'Quillans, from the first moment of their intercourse with the M'Donalds, in 1580, when Colonel M'Donald, brother to James, Lord of Cantyre, came into Ireland, with a band of men, to assist Tyrconnell against the great O'Neill, with whom he was then at war, or, according to the Antrim MS. to settle the dispute

public are indebted to the bishop of Derry, is, I suppose, the greatest phenomenon in the world, the 'Giant's Causeway,' a range of basaltic cliffs, consisting of many thousand vertical rectangular pillars. They are of the colour and hardness of iron, and even resist the file; are composed of a number of joints nicely fitted, and so close to one another that a knife-blade can with difficulty be inserted through them. As to shape they are generally pentagonal, hexagonal, and septagonal: yet almost all are irregular, none of their sides being of equal breadth. Great have been the labours of learned and scientific men to ascertain the composition of this fossil, and

between Irish Coll and M'Quillan. The history of Dunluce Castle, from the marriage of Col. M'Donald, is inseparable from that of the Antrim family, into whose possession it fell upon the death of the father in law of Coll. In 1585, Sorley Boy, i. e. Yellow Charles, lord of Dunluce Castle, still preserving a rebellious disposition, was besieged in his castle by Sir John Perrot, lord deputy of Ireland. The account of the siege is to be met with in Sir John's Life. In 1642 Dunluce Castle was the scene of another act of treachery of as black a character. In the month of April in that year, General Munroe made a visit to the Earl of Antrim, at this castle, and was received with many expressions of joy, and honoured with splendid entertainments; and further, the earl offered him assistance of men and money, to reduce the country to tranquillity. But this Munroe, when these feats were over, seized on the earl's person, took possession of his castle, and put the other castles of his lordship into the hands of the Marquis of Argyle's men. He conveyed the earl to Carrickfergus, and imprisoned him in the castle; but from this he very soon effected his escape, and withdrew to England. Shortly after this period, Ballymagarry became the favourite residence of the M'Donalds; but this noble mansion was accidentally burned in 1750; from which time, to the present day, Glenarm Castle has been the family seat.—*Guide to the Giant's Causeway*, 1834. [ED.]

their theories have been nearly as numerous as they have been diversified ; some considering it to be the *entrochos lapis*, the *astroites* or *lapis stellois*, and to be of the same species as the *lapis misneus* of Stolpen in Saxony, of which a description is given by Agricola in his "History of Fossils." Others are of opinion that its chemical properties are different, and they trace its formation to the action of volcanic fire ; while a third maintain it to be a crystallization from water. The Causeway is plainly the work of nature, and runs through the whole of the northern coast, under the sea to Rathlin Island, and even to Scotland.* Its length, at low water, is about 600 feet, if not more ; its breadth in the widest part 250 feet, and in the narrowest about 120 feet ; and its height about 36 feet or upwards.† Pliny says, the largest block of basalt ever seen was placed by Vespasian in the temple of Peace ; and that the statue of Memnon, in the temple of Serapis, at Thebes, was constructed of this stone. We went to see a cave hard by, which, according to the simple natives, "*the mighty big giant made for his own convanience*," and in which this renowned hero of the place cooled his wine no doubt ! This cavern is of very considerable dimensions, in the bosom of the solid rock, and at a distance it bears the appearance of a Gothic archway. The roof is

* Staffa, one of the Western Isles, is composed of this stone.
—[Ed.]

† The promontory of Benmore, or Fairhead, is 500 feet above the level of the sea, and some of the blocks exceed 200 feet in height.—*Dublin Penny Journal*. [Ed.]

beautifully formed of the same species of stone as the mole, of various shapes and sizes, as if executed with the utmost elegance of art, in some measure resembling an exquisitely worked cornice of a cathedral ceiling. This excavation is also remarkable for a very powerful reverberation of sounds ; though not quite so musical perhaps as that basaltic piece of workmanship which resounded at the rising of the sun, and to which Juvenal refers when he says,

“ Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.”

We dined amidst this wild magnificence of nature, having very substantial materials for our table, chairs, and carpet, and a serene sky for our canopy ; thus we enjoyed a repast of rational luxury, and a flow of intellectual delight. We left this romantic scenery with regret, and encamped at Ballimony, a large but scattered village, near which is the elegant mansion of Mr. Leslie, called “ Leslie Hill.”

Friday, 29th.—We came this morning to Ahoghill, a small village within eleven miles of Antrim. This we intended making our resting place ; but, owing to the vile humour of our landlady, we found it impracticable, so we precipitated our departure, and, feeling happy at our escape, left the lioness to herself, concurring with the immortal bard, that

“ Anger is like

A full hot horse, who being allowed his way
Self-mettle tires him.”

Visited the Moravian settlement at Grace Hill, which is situated on a rising ground opposite Gilgorn Castle. The settlement was founded in 1746, and

contains about 300 inhabitants. Differing, as these people do, from us in the form only of ecclesiastical government, we cannot but regret their exclusion from the pale of our church, as there is no body of Christians who more closely resemble the primitive disciples either in the peaceableness of their dispositions, or in the purity and usefulness of their lives.

After a very uninteresting drive of seven miles, we reached Randalstown, a village agreeably situated on the river Main, and rendered picturesque by the neighbouring plantations and the richness of the grounds. There being nothing worthy of much notice here, we passed on and drove through the rich and beautifully wooded demesne of the Right Hon. Sir John O'Neil,* and stopped at Shane's Castle,† a splendid mansion belonging to that gentleman, and enchantingly situated on the banks of Lough Naigh.‡

* Afterwards Lord O'Neil. In the rebellion of 1798, a furious battle was fought at Antrim, in which the rebels were routed with prodigious slaughter; but, sad to say, this amiable nobleman lost his life, when valiantly combating in the defence of his sovereign and our glorious constitution.—*Traveller's Guide*, 1815. [ED.]

† The magnificent mansion of Shane's Castle, anciently Edenduff Carrick, was unhappily destroyed by fire in 1816; and we understand there is no immediate intention of restoring it.—*Guide to the Causeway*, 1834. [ED.]

‡ The healing property of this lake I conceive to be fabulous; but as very grave and learned naturalists have not hesitated to mention it, I shall quote their words. "The healing property of Lough Neagh is supposed to be confined to that part of the lake called the Fishing Bay, which is bounded by the school lands of Dungarvon. The occasion of first taking notice of this bay for cure, is said to have been in the reign of Charles II. in the instance of the son of Mr. Cunningham, who had an evil to that de-

That noble expanse of water is twenty miles long, and fifteen broad, and about eighty miles in circumference: with the exception of lakes Ladoga and Geneva, it is the largest in Europe. It is said to possess both healing and petrifying qualities; but as we required not the one, and had no time for an experi-

gree, that it run on him in eight or ten places. He was touched by the king (to whose royal touch a virtue was at that time ascribed of healing this distemper), and all imaginable means were unsuccessfully used for his recovery: his body was so wasted that he could not walk. At length he was bathed in this lake for eight days, when his sores were dried up, and he grew healthy, and married, had children, and lived many years."—*Down Survey*.

The very name of Neagh, which is probably a corruption of Neasganulcer, seems to allude to an ancient belief in this healing property of the waters; and also the more ancient name of Lionnmhuine, that is, the Lake of the Sore, bears a similar reference. The fabulous writers of the early ages assert, that Lough Neagh first burst forth in the year 65 of the Christian era, when Lugaid Rhaibderg ascended the throne of Ireland, at which time there were but three lakes and ten rivers in the whole kingdom. The petrifying quality of the lake is attended with circumstances of a more interesting nature to the philosopher, and has continued to puzzle our most sagacious naturalists from the time of Nennius, who wrote of this fact in the ninth century, to the present day. Tradition states, that pieces of holly have been completely transmuted into stone in the space of seven years, by the waters of the lake, while the experiments of the philosopher prove that a lapse of twenty years was insufficient to cause the slightest apparent tendency to petrification in pieces of the same timber, similarly disposed. One account asserts, that a holly stake has been driven into the sandy bottom of the lake, so that one portion was buried in the sand, another under water, and the remainder exposed to the atmosphere; and the result was, that the lower part was converted into iron, the middle into stone, and the upper retained its ligneous nature; but this harmless chimera is unworthy of belief. Such an experiment was tried for the purpose of ascer-

ment on the other, we felt perfectly satisfied with the report of its celebrity. We passed a ruinous seat of Earl Massareen, adjoining the grounds of Sir John O'Neil, and soon afterwards, a handsome but dilapidated bridge over the "Six-mile-water." Antrim is an extensive but ruinous town on the Six-mile river. It was at one period a place of some note ;

taining to which of the three elements in question the petrifying quality was attributable, but probably neither the duration of the experimentalist's life, nor the impatience of discovery, permitted the result of a sufficient experiment to be fairly established ; and the state of the argument at this day is, that such a property or petrifying quality actually exists in the vicinity of Lough Neagh ; but where this virtue resides, whether in the soil, the water, or the exhalations which arise from the lake, is still a matter of controversy amongst the learned. The strand of the Lough abounds in very beautiful pebbles, much resembling the Scotch, and susceptible of a very high polish. Several beautiful specimens may be seen in the excellent mineralogical collection of the Royal Dublin Society. There are but two small islands in the Lough, Black-water Island, at the mouth of the river, from which it derives its appellation, and Ram Island, which is rendered remarkable by its lofty ancient round tower : this latter is about one mile and a half from the shore ; and from the shallowness of the intervening channel, is supposed to have been a peninsula, when the tower was built. The height of the remaining part of the tower is about 40 feet, and is in good preservation.—*Guide to the Giants' Causeway*, 1834.

A cottage which is extremely pretty, and furnished in the most tasteful manner, was some time since erected (on Ram's Island) by Earl O'Neil, to whom it belongs. The entire ground is laid out into walks, and covered with verdure. Several hundred rose trees, and those plants and flowers which constitute the pride of our gardens, all flourish luxuriantly. Even those sides of the island which are almost perpendicular, are adorned with all those creeping plants and hardy shrubs which are adapted to the situation.—*Dublin Penny Journal*, 1833-4. ED.

but during the rebellion, in the reign of Charles II., it was burnt down by that bigoted puritan, Robert Monro and his blinded followers, and it has not since been entirely restored. It was anciently a bishoprick; and, according to Camden, an abbey was founded here by Durtracta, a disciple of St. Patrick's. None of us, I believe, possessed such frigid philosophy as to traverse this and other spots in the land of Erin, without some strong emotions. On the north side of the town of Antrim is a very remarkable structure, called a "Round Tower," of which there are many in this country. It is about ninety feet high; it consists of three stories with loop-holes in each, for the admission of light or air, and it tapers at the top in the form of a cone. We were not able to ascertain correctly either the date or the purpose of its erection, so unconnected is it with any other building. But from the appearance of a cross, rudely cut over the door, together with other indications, I should conceive it was appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes, and possibly might have been a part of St. Durtract's Abbey. * * * * *

Cetera desunt.

"MY DEAR PETER, Galloway House, Oct. 20, 1787.
 "You may possibly be a little entertained with a short narrative of our travels in Ireland; at least as the account comes from me, you will perhaps have patience enough to read it, and goodness enough to overlook its imperfections. That it may not tire you, I will take care that it shall be of no immoderate length.

“ The two youngsters under my care, and a physician of the name of Brown, formed the whole of our party. We embarked on a fine day in July last, and hovered off the coast of Scotland the whole night. There is nothing so beautiful in a Scotch shore but you can quit it without regret; indeed we could not help wishing we could have parted with it sooner than we did, but the wind would not permit us. The next morning when we awoke we were surprised to find we were not near the Hibernian shore, but near Stranraer, a little town in Galloway; the wind, which continued high and adverse during the greatest part of the morning, seemed determined to expose to our view a little more of the nudities of Scotland before we left it. About mid-day the wind became more favourable; we cleared Loch Ryan, and sailed within view of the Isle of Aisle: standing for Londonderry. Aisle is a conical rock, about half channel over, and forms no bad object at sea, where so few interesting objects are to be discovered. The wind through the greatest part of the day blew fresh, and the sea was rather rough, especially to our young sailors. Our medical companion lectured very scientifically on the various methods of preventing and assuaging sea sickness; but, lo! in the midst of his learned disquisitions, he began to be most violently affected himself, to our no small amusement, and he stood in greater need of his theories than any of the party. In the afternoon we came to anchor in Church Bay, in Rachlin, a little island about a league and a half from the northern extremity of Ireland. We had no sooner

dropped our anchor, than several boats came off, with dried fish and poultry to barter. I thought we had struck upon some savage coast. No cannibals could have looked wilder, or have shewn less marks of civilization. They bargained with the crew for old jackets, waistcoats, and other articles of clothing, and paid with pieces of dried cod, which appeared to be their current coin; and, as they counted in pure Irish, it gave the scene the greater appearance of our being among uncultivated savages. One of these strange looking people had a hen on which he seemed to place no small value. He would exchange it for nothing but bread, and that of the best sort. On the captain's boy expostulating with him on the unreasonableness of his demand, he answered in broken English, and in the brogue of the country, "*Mate for mate*, man, God preserve us, Ho!" Struck with the oddity of the whole scene, I got into the small boat and landed on the island, and found it a most miserable spot, but well worth exploring. It contains about twelve hundred inhabitants, such as they are,—is about five miles long, and one mile broad.

"The next day we committed ourselves again to the winds and waves, and, after sailing for a day or two along the coast as far as Glenarm, we entered Loch Foyle, a lake about eighteen miles long, where we came to anchor. We rowed to Londonderry, and saw the place where the boom was thrown across in the memorable siege of 1688, when Walker the protestant clergyman commanded, and bid defiance to the united power of the papists, and that of their cowardly king. We examined the city very parti-

cularly ; and, be assured, not without some powerful emotions. We read on the spot the account of the rebellion, and the noble stand made by the brave garrison. My young friends were much entertained with an anecdote told us of a fat man, who, in the distress during their scarcity of provisions, concealed himself for three days, imagining they would certainly select him, should they be reduced to the necessity of feeding on one another.

“ We went by land through Coleraine, to see the celebrated Giants’ Causeway, a quarry of basalt. The appearance is a mass or masses of perpendicular pillars resembling a solid honeycomb, and is one of the greatest natural curiosities in the world. One of my young companions was highly diverted with the account our guides gave of it, and listened with much pretended conviction to his tale. My young friend seemed inclined, however, to impugn the veracity of the narrator, and confessed he could not well comprehend how pillars of from thirty to forty feet high, as some of them are, could be placed there by human hand, or even by that of a giant. The countryman assured him that the artificer was several miles tall. ‘ *He wash a hundred years ould when he wash born,*’ said he, ‘ *and shure ner a word of lie I’m telling ye, yer honor.*’ This threw the youngsters into roars of laughter, and seemed to afford them greater amusement than anything they had heard the whole journey.

“ We took a postchaise from this very interesting place, and directed our course to Belfast. At Antrim we had one of the most delightful evening walks

I ever remember. It would have had charms for a Thomson. The evening was still, the moon was bright, and the path lay through old gardens and a grove of the finest and most aristocratic trees in the country. We were so pleased with our stroll, that it was late at night before we returned to our quarters: a few trout caught in Loch Neagh, and remarkable for their size, afforded us an excellent supper; and we had an amusing conversation on the adventures of the day: while the philosophical ramble of the evening heightened the relish of the repast. Loch Neagh is well worth seeing of itself; it is eighty miles in circumference. Shane's Castle and the wood around form an elegant ornament to its bank, and add much to the richness of the scenery. Our little cutter met us at Belfast Harbour, where we embarked, after viewing the various objects of curiosity, and set sail for Scotland. Here I am now and here I write myself, my dear brother, yours affectionately,

“ELIEZER WILLIAMS.

“To Mr. P. Williams,
Jesus College, Oxford.”



PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES.

PROLOGUE,

*Spoken by Mr. Watkin William Thomas, on the acting of
Terence's Andria by the Boys of Lampeter School, at the
Town Hall, Lampeter, 22nd Dec. 1814.*

THERE are who deem us evidently wrong
T' attempt a drama in an unknown tongue ;
But that sole circumstance may prove the cause
Of sure success, and gain us your applause ;
For things by language, or by dress, conceal'd,
Are thought more beautiful than things reveal'd.
In lovely *billet-doux*, how soft the line !
French words adorn—how charming, how divine !
And Latin has its charms—what nymph denied
Her lover pardon, who *peccavi* cried ?
In each profession, Latin is the spell,
Latin's the charm to make a man excel !
How could grave justices enforce the law,
How, without Latin, keep poor rogues in awe ?
For thus they frighten the poor wretch before 'em ;
Must this be suffer'd ? we are of the *quorum* !
Make out his *mittimus*, for that his fate is ;
We ne'er forgive the crime of "*cæsæ majestatis*."
From the low conjurors of cups and balls
To the learn'd advocate in county halls,
Whoever miss'd a trick, or lost a cause,
Who knew by *Latin* phrase to win applause ?
By *hocus pocus*, or by *fieri facias*
The man of learning constantly the case has.
What makes their bills and periwigs so large ?
What swells the lawyer's brief—the judge's charge—

What but their Latin and their learned cant O,
Their *Habeas Corpus*, and their "*quo warranto?*"
This is the talisman, the charm, depend on't,
To conjure cash from plaintiff and defendant.
This! in this place*! I own I feel an awe,
Lest I should raise the spirit of the law;
I doubt I've gone too far! I'm sadly frightened,
Lest, the next sessions, I should be indicted.
But to the doctors I'll direct my sight,
Who knows but they may cure me of my fright?
What can renown'd apothecaries, pray,
Or skilful surgeons, without Latin, say?
But oft their learning and their labour's lost;
They cannot half enough of Latin boast:
Vain are their arts, *pingandi* and *secandi*;
What must be done, good christians! must the man die?
No, call in one of a superior tribe,
One by diploma boasting to prescribe;
He comes in Latin wonderfully skill'd,
And the poor patient's cured at once—or kill'd;
For many a man, ere now, has found his fate in
A learn'd prescription, neatly veil'd in Latin.
There are who think their prayers won't be heard,
Unless in Latin they should be preferr'd;
For what in this world is not understood,
Is fit for heaven, they think, and must be good.
The chosen pastor makes his pulpit shake,
And tries all arts to keep his flock awake;
But spite of all his arts, and all decorum,
They nod, they doze, they sleep, they snore before 'm:
"What, sleep! the drowsy rogues," he roars, "I'll rant 'em,
He fell who slighted *Paulum predicantem*."
The charm prevails at once, see how they strain
To shake off Morpheus' captivating chain;

* The Town Hall, Lampeter.

Turn up their sleepy eyes with vast discerning,
And wonder at his piety and learning.
Finding that Latin is so much in fashion,
We thought the way to win your approbation
Was to select a play (for boys love play),
Where we spout Latin every word we say,
And what by some is thought excessive good,
Where we can talk, and not be understood ;
Where we quote jests that will no blushes raise,
And laugh at wit, laugh'd at in ancient days.
Methinks I hear a female critic cry,
"This Andria's character, dear ma'am, stands high,
One nam'd Tear-haunches* first contrived the play,
A Roman youth, a lad of parts they say ;
The plot is excellent, the style divine !
Why, there is Latin, ma'am, 'in every line ;
'Tis of Athenian origin, and further,
'Tis a love story—not at all 'bout murder."
So the fair dame—But 'twas a source of strife,
To find a father choose his son a wife ;
But the sly youth, subdued by matchless charms,
Clasp'd a defenceless stranger in his arms :
The father frown'd ; the lady chanced to find
Her friends and fortune—and he changed his mind.
"Why, as the lady has so full a purse,"
He cries, "the youngster might, perhaps, do worse."
The young folk married—on my word, 'tis true,
And all were pleased—and so, I hope, will you.
I fear I've spoil'd the tale—but don't discard it,
'Twas a good story reckon'd, when I heard it ;
To mar a story thus is wrong, no doubt,
I'll call my school-fellows to help me out ;
And though we cannot tell a story well,
Your smiles, I'm confident, will *make it tell*.

* Terentius.

PROLOGUE,

Delivered by Mr. W. W. Thomas, on acting Terence's Comedy of Phormio, by the Boys of Lampeter, Cardiganshire, at the Town Hall, Lampeter, Dec. 20, 1815.

OFT have I heard old orators declaim
 Of Grecian genius and of Roman fame.
 The moderns censure, and the ancients praise,
 And shake their heads at our degen'rate days;
 But I, an orator of recent birth,
 Stand here, the advocate of modern worth,
 Resolved to vindicate the fire and spirit
 Of modern genius and of modern merit.
 The Gauls of old kept Cæsar years at bay,
 The moderns closed their business in a day.
 Had old Rome triumph'd on the Belgic plains,
 She would have seized a province for her pains.
 But profiting by war we are above—
 To show the world we only fight for love.
 Your ancient hero, when not worth a groat,
 Would fret, grow sullen, mope—and cut his throat;
 But modern heroes bravely dare to spare it,
 And glut and feast it with beef-steaks and claret.
 What mortals e'er in classic authors read
 Of Roman bakers walking for their bread?
 While crowds astonish'd throng to see the wonder,
 A peasant walking or a justice blunder?
 Satiric Juvenal a tale would broach
 Of Roman statesmen, who could drive a coach;
 But what is that to nobles in our land,
 Who, Jehu-like, can manage four in hand?
 What were the lawyers, famed in ancient ages,
 To our learned justice-loving sages?

Could they make laws, to save a sinking land,
Which none, without their aid, could understand?
Could they spin out a suit—or make an end on't,
Till time should make an end of plaintiff and defendant?
Could Roman doctors read a sick man's brains,
And by its dictates cure the patient's pains?
Or with metallic tractors heal old sprains?
Could they with animal magnetism mad
Cure monied dupes of ills they never had?
Or from an aged prophetess—to please her—
Cut out a fancied hip-begotten Cæsar?
No—these were feats unknown in ancient story,
By fate reserved to heighten Britain's glory.
What were the Salii or the priests of Rome
To our own motley ministers at home?
Where each mechanic's learned in the art,
To act the minister's or tradesman's part?
Where the same hand is raised—divine, no doubt—
Now with a hammer in't, and now without?
Or at his customer's, or heaven's control,
To mend a slipper now—and now a *soul*?
Where rustic swains for teachers quit their trade,
Resign the plough, and spurn the useless spade!
Homer and Maro, we are gravely told,
Were look'd upon as prodigies of old;
But bards, like flowers, in modern days appear,
And bud, and bloom, and wither in a year.
To ancient actors 'twas a dreadful task,
To seek the theatre without a mask;
But modern actors on the stage will rush,
Without the slightest hazard of a blush.
Your Roman wits conceived of old, 'tis true,
And once an age brought forth a piece or two;
But the prolific writings of our age,
Crowd, with their num'rous progeny, the stage;
While sympathising critics, at the birth,
Feel all the pangs of pity or of mirth.

Some roar the "Stagyrite" theatric laws,
 Some groan, some hiss, some thunder out applause.
 Amidst such tumults usher'd into light,
 The poor dear bantlings die—perhaps of fright.
 Judge from the specimen we give to-night,
 Whether these Romans knew the art to write.
 How singular the characters they drew,
 How little of the fashionable world they knew.
 An angry lady's pictured in our play,
 Storming to find her husband go astray;
 But modern dames whene'er their husbands roam,
 Are kindly comforted by friends at home.
 Abound in love you've found our play, I'm certain,
 Although conceal'd, in part, behind the curtain.
 But if you ladies can't the whole discern,
 Why then, I think, our language you must learn;
 You'll soon, I have no doubt, apt scholars prove
 How easy 'tis to say, *Amo, I love*.
 Will you apply?—'twill very much amuse you—
 Nay, do it now—the men will not excuse you.
 Did you but comprehend our *lingo* well,
 You'd see in what our Latin plays excel;
 How they abound in lovers, and in wits,
 In lawyers also, processes and writs,
 Solicitors, who drive in gigs about,
 And build their splendid palaces, no doubt;
 While every town presents a noble group,
 I see no reason why th' oppress'd should droop:
 You know the lawyers ne'er their clients dupe.
 Phormio you'd find the engine of our plot,
 Bold in intrigue, he never miss'd a shot:
 One, who alike to prove, has learnt the nack
 That black is white, or else that white is black.

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PROLOGUE

To Terence's Comedy of Adelphi, acted by the Boys of Lampeter School, Dec. 19, 1816, and spoken by the head boy, Mr. John Jenkins, sen. The two Latin Prologues, by Messrs D. Griffith and Watkin Herbert.

SINCE acting is the fashion of the day,
 Faith, I'll e'en try what I can do that way,
 Put on a mimic face, and tread the stage,
 Like other actors of this acting age.
 For rich and poor, I find, and high and low,
 And young and old—all, all are actors now.
 An able statesman, of majestic mien,
 Boldly stands forward on the public scene ;
 "To save his country in distress he'll try,
 Though in the glorious enterprise to die"—
 His country's interest he feels at heart,
 He's thought sincere, so well he plays his part ;
 But get behind the scenes—you'll find it true—
 'Tis his own interest he has most in view.
 A patriot next appears upon the stage,
 Who feels at court ungovernable rage,
 Rails at the minister, condemns the laws,
 Cajoles the populace, and gains applause ;
 But look beneath the mask, 'tis all grimace,
 The mimic patriot only wants a place—
 He toils to talk the premier's party down,
 Not for his country's, but his own renown.
 A rich contractor next, at placemen rails :
 "This peace has ruin'd us, our commerce fails,
 Trade is no more, and agriculture's gone,
 Our manufacturers are all undone,
 The country's lost, unless—we have a war ;"
 How well he acts—his parts are famed afar,

Till some suspect, resistless as he rants,
That a good contract is the thing he wants.
O'er the rich feast the citizen complains,
"Our lab'ring poor are starving on our plains"—
"Then eat less ven'son, let the poor have some;"—
—"My good friend, charity begins at home;"
"I wish to act a charitable part,
But want the means"—"You want a bounteous heart."
How well that brewer mashes all the great,
And shews what drugs adulterate the state
Trust him but with the constitution's *chive*,
He'll brew! he'll keep his customers alive!
His acting shows he'd profit more, I fear,
By brewing mischief, than by brewing beer.
'Tis a bad Hunt to hunt through blood a place,
To chase celebrity, and incur disgrace;
With Spence's plan he of his hook's the baiter,
To act the patriot's part, and prove the traitor.
The lawyer swears, while he expounds the laws,
"He'd rather die, than lose his client's cause."
How well he acts his part! how just his plea!
He'd rather die, than he should lose his fee.
To the sick room how sly the doctor steals,
With what concern his patient's pulse he feels;
How well he acts his part; how well he feigns!
"He feels, in person, all the sick man's pains;"
How grieved he seems!—how overwhelm'd with sorrow!
How vex'd, lest he should lose his fee to-morrow.
Kneeling before an aged lady's shrine,
Her lover vows—"She's bless'd with charms divine;
He loves not gold, he disregards her pelf,
And loves her more than all things—but himself:"
How well he acts! how well he plays his part!
His acting's honour'd with the lady's heart;—
Soon the dame sees how apt we are to err,
She finds that he loves all the fair but her.

Believe not, fair ones, every tale you hear,
 Nor to all suitors lend a list'ning ear ;
 Whene'er they talk to you of wounded hearts,
 Of beauteous goddesses, and Cupid's darts,
 Trust not their arts, be of their ways observant,
 They are all *actors* but—your humble servant.
 I am no actor, but the play to-night—
 To name it puts me almost in a fright ;
 'Tis certainly far fetch'd, as often said is,
 And dearly bought, and therefore fit for ladies.
 'Twas fetch'd from Athens—it will make you chuckle—
 'Twas dearly bought—ere to our task we'd buckle,
 It cost us many a rap across the knuckle.
 But ne'er mind suffering in so good a cause ;
 We'll bear it gladly, if we've your applause.

EPILOGUE,

Spoken in the character of Mitio, by Mr. John Hughes.

My son is lost ! the comfort of my life,
 For he has taken to himself a wife ;
 As my son's gone to taste of wedlock's bliss,
 To follow his example's not amiss ;
 To brave all dangers, make a desperate stand
 On the forlorn hope of hymeneal land.
 In early life, I have been gay, I own,
 Knew all the ways and frolics of the town ;
 Led a free, easy, fashionable life,
 Unburthen'd with that awkward clog—a wife ;
 But though in freedom thus my youth I pass'd,
 In my old age I have been caught at last.
 If only ills to married men belong,
 'Twas well I happen'd to escape so long ;

If blessings in that state are met with ever,
’Twas better sure to marry late than never ;
Nor with derision treat grey-headed beaux,
For golden hills are sometimes tipt with snows ;
Then candidly allow me to discover,
The boasted virtues of an ancient lover ;
An old beau’s constant, he will prove no rover.
And all the wise ones will prefer, no doubt,
The old with money to the young without ;
And should the aged husband boast no riches,
The wife, at least, may hope to wear the breeches ;
If he be cross, this comfort he may give
To his fond wife—he can’t for ever live.
Kind and indulgent, should he still give way,
To all she wishes, or to do, or say,
She may while living, govern him, with art,
And should he die, she need not break her heart ;
But dry her tears, and wed a younger man,
And in his arms take comfort, if she can ;
For to the prudent, in the mart of love,
The old and young of some advantage prove.
Next, since old husbands thus, you’ll say, you praise,
What can be said of wives of ancient days ?
Then since I took an old wife to my arms,
I beg leave briefly to describe her charms :
Though she may, haply, give me some vexation,
She does not leave me subject to temptation,
Then at my cot I fear no beau’s arrival,
For all her charms are mine, without a rival !
If I can’t comfort her, whene’er she pleases,
Still, I can cry, “ God bless you,” when she sneezes.
She never plagues me when she at the worse is,
With babies, midwives, lullabies, and nurses ;
To much expense she puts me not in dress,
Pleased with the fashion of our old Queen Bess ;
She often rails at men, and sometimes strikes them,
And never favours them unless she likes them ;

And should she take a little of the creature,
Her tint's so good, it never spoils a feature :
And when that way she goes astray the most,
Of her good spirits she may safely boast,
And to her cronies the advantage tell,
Of taking comfort and of living well.
If these advantages the old profess,
What are the charms which younger nymphs possess ?
If lovers thus you press the old to wed,
What can in praise of younger nymphs be said ?
How would you argue with unwedded swains,
In praise of younger dreams, to cure their pains ?
Why, faith, their beauty needs no praise of mine,
Art's of no use to set off charms divine ;
Fresh as the morn, and beautiful as day,
They want no words their merits to display ;
They their own worth unfold on nature's plan :
View them, and then resist them, if you can.
Marriage with one of such unrivall'd worth,
Must sure be heaven, if possible, on earth !
Look but beneath the lady's fan, and try
The charming fascination of her eye,
Then if you can, retain your liberty.
Faith, 'tis no credit to a wealthy land
That such fine goods should still remain on hand !
But I must gaze no more, lest I should shame
My faith once promised to my ancient dame.
Fair ones, forgive me if your charms impart
Some sparks of love's fire to an old man's heart.
Nay, now, I must determine to retire
In time, lest you should set me all on fire.
Could you not quench the flame, you will no doubt,
Fan it, at least, to try to put it out ;
For your fair hands, and your applauding breath,
Must this night sentence me to life or death.

PROLOGUE

To Terence's Comedy of Eunuchus, acted by the Scholars of Lampeter School, in the Town Hall, at that place, in the summer of the year 1819, spoken by Mr. John Hughes, leading on the stage a wooden figure dressed as a fashionable lady.

As all old things are now thought out of date,
 And new inventions puzzle every pate,
 Great men turn bankrupts, to preserve their riches,
 And beaux wear stays, and modern wives the breeches,
 When vessels voyage not by winds but vapours,
 And all our bloods on wooden nags cut capers,*
 We too, to merit your applause to-night,
 A novel object offer to your sight;
 For we would wish to hit on something new,
 Therefore present a wooden wife to view.
 A *Braduglossides* I think's the name
 By which our artist would denote the dame;
 For modern mechanists so much excel,
 They've form'd a female who is ne'er unwell,
 Who holds her tongue, and who will ne'er do wrong,
 Who'll never sell her virtue for a song;
 Who, mildly moving by mechanic laws,
 Incurs no censure, covets no applause.
 A silent dame who scandal never spoke,
 Her mind unmoved, her heart a heart of oak,
 Whene'er her husband scolds, poor quiet creature,
 She ne'er replies, nor seems to change a feature;
 She never wastes his wealth in vain expense,
 Or, by her talk, betrays her want of sense;
 She never frets, or wishes he were dead,
 Or wounds his fame, or ornaments his head;

* Velocipedes were in high vogue at this period, amongst a set of creatures called dandies.—*Editor.*

Or weeps, or swoons, or stratagems displays,
To gain her purpose by sinistrous ways ;
She never proves to jealousy a prey,
Nor tries to drag his sly intrigues to-day ;
But still contented, or at bed or board,
She ne'er usurps the province of her lord ;
At table fix'd, though not much skill'd to carve,
She ne'er seems likely or to want or starve ;
A beau still ready, with affected air,
May do the honors of the goose or hare ;
Politely help the lady of the house,
And, in attention, emulate her spouse.
At tea or coffee she can fill her place
With all a modern well-bred lady's grace ;
To servants leave, or housekeeper, the care
The board to regulate, the tea prepare,
The guests attend, while she, exalted soul,
With matchless grandeur seems to view the whole ;
For modern dames with family affairs
Ne'er wish to swell the volume of their cares :
In these pursuits mean husbands may delight,
These would not suit my consort of to-night ;
Careless of censure, negligent of praise,
Unmoved and dignified in all her ways ;
And should a play, like ours, to-night be seen,
My wife might answer to fill up the scene ;
But for the merit of the play or players,
Such things ne'er prove the object of her cares ;
For well-bred ladies of the present day
Can ne'er attend to what the actors say ;
Thus like my consort, dramas, old or new,
Without emotion they appear to view ;
Though, such in classic learning is her fame,
Latin and English are to her the same ;
But you, ye fair ones, in whose awful sight
We tremble at our enterprise to-night,

No doubt, will make it manifest enough
 That you were fashion'd of more feeling stuff;
 In candour's scale, then, kindly deign to weigh
 All that we humbly try to do or say;
 Our faults forgive, our good intent admit,
 And as our advocates, not judges, sit;
 Prove that your hearts and sentiments are good,
 You were not form'd of either stone or wood;
 Then fairly show, by your unfeign'd applause,
 You follow nature, not mechanic laws

EPILOGUE,

*Spoken by Mr. John Hughes, in the character of Parmeno, and
 Mr. John Davies, in the character of Pythias, a maid-servant,
 leading a wooden figure dressed as a modern dandy.*

PARMENO.

OF all your senses have you lost the use,
 A wooden dandy for your beau to choose?
 With that vile figure why degrade the stage?
 This towers o'er all the follies of the age!

PYTHIAS.

Have not automata of late been seen,
 Self-moved, incessantly to crowd the scene?
 If knowing artists wooden steeds provide,
 A wooden jockey why should you deride?
 This form may, too, a mirror prove to you,
 Where your own image you may chance to view.

PARMENO.

So full a headpiece, and a form so bright,
 No doubt must needs my jealousy excite.

PYTHIAS.

Such forms, to wisdom making no pretence,
 Are better far than fools pretending sense.

PARMENO.

With such partiality, since here you've led it,
Then take your lifeless, senseless thing, and wed it.

PYTHIAS.

Is then a wooden spouse so novel, pray ?
Whence then came all the blockheads of the day ?

PARMENO.

Rich is the blessing of a wooden spouse,
No doubt felicity will mark your house.

PYTHIAS.

He'll ne'er with jealousy my peace molest ;
Grant him but wealth, and I'll supply the rest ;
For without wealth, what prudent wench would wed ?
Who'd take a ruin'd spendthrift to her bed ?
A wooden head provided with a dower,
Excels a fop unprincipled and poor !
Fill but his head with gold instead of brains,
'Twere better far than what your head contains !

PARMENO.

At table he'll discover vast address !

PYTHIAS.

He'll ne'er offend by drinking to excess.

PARMENO.

He'll shine, no doubt, in social conversation !

PYTHIAS.

He'll ne'er disgust by vulgar affectation.

PARMENO.

In the gay world, he all the world will charm !

PYTHIAS.

'Twere well the gay world were as void of harm.
He'll ne'er engage in fashionable strife,
Nor wound his friend, nor take away his life,
Debauch his daughter, nor seduce his wife ;

He'll ne'er keep mistresses, nor waste his wealth
In vile pursuits, injurious to his health ;
He'll never visit taverns, nor delight
In gambling houses to consume the night ;
He'll never sell, nor mortgage his estates,
To sail in pleasure-boats to foreign states ;
He'll ne'er engage a coachman at a stand,
To give him lessons to drive four in hand !
He'll ne'er talk treason, nor disparage all
Those whom the wise, the good, and virtuous call !
Ne'er will he show the wittling's vain pretence,
By want of modesty his want of sense !

PARMENO.

When will you cease all mortals to bespatter ?

PYTHIAS.

Whene'er they cease to furnish me with matter.
Let men but cease to act and reason wrong,
And women soon would learn to hold their tongue ;
Then for your former faults by care atone,
Forgive our foibles, and forsake your own ;
For spite of all our prudes' conceit and pother,
The sexes first were fashion'd for each other.
T' assist each other through the vale of life,
Nor pain by sorrow, nor molest by strife ;
But on the journey every aid impart,
To guide the gay, and heal the wounded heart.
From every scene to learn to have in view,
To shun what's evil, and what's good pursue.
Then rashly blame not what you've seen to night,
But veil what's faulty, and applaud what's right.

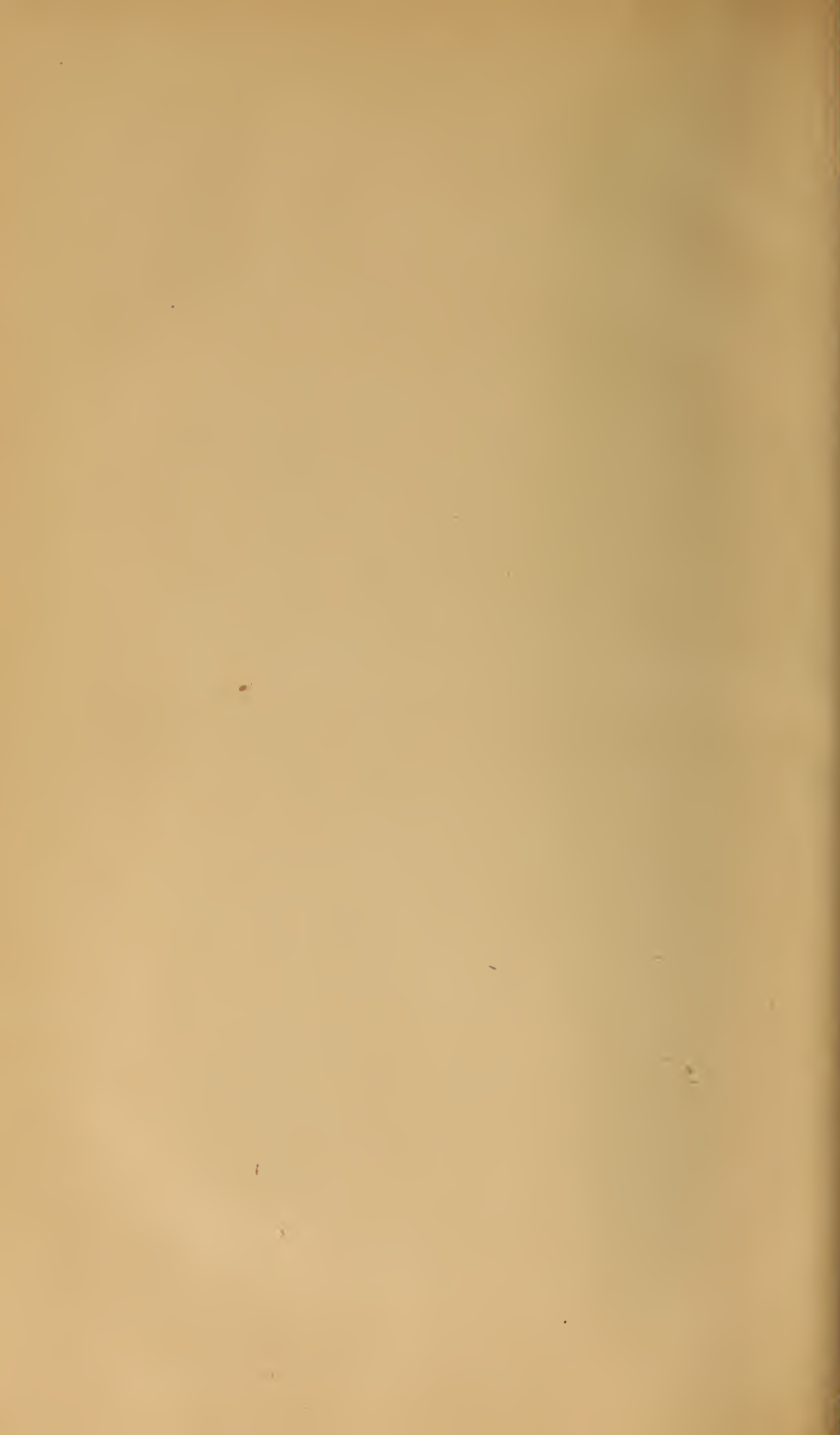
Lampeter, June, 1819.

FINIS.











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